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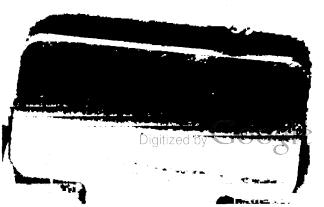
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# NARRATIVE

OF A

# FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE

AT

# NEPAUL.

BY CAPTAIN THOMAS SMITH,
ASSISTANT POLITICAL-RESIDENT AT NEPAUL
FROM 1841 TO 1845.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

LONDON:
COLBURN AND CO., PUBLISHERS,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1852.

Notice is hereby given, that the Publishers of this Work reserve to themselves the right of publishing a Translation in France.

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1855

LONDON:
Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

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# MEMORIALS OF NEPAUL.

## CHAPTER I.

### TERMINATION OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.

We left Sir D. Ochterlony, in position, on the further side of the Maloun range, with Colonel Arnold, at Rutunghur, between the enemy and Belaspore; while Colonel Cooper was left to reduce the forts of the Ramgurh range; the first of these attacked was Ramgurh itself, which, after great exertions, in dragging up the heavy artillery, was breached at last in the middle of February.

The garrison capitulated for themselves, and were allowed to march out with the honours of



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war; the two commanders, however, on joining Umur Sing, at Maloun, were rewarded, Nepaul fashion, with the loss of their ears and noses; each of the forts had a garrison of one hundred men, and one of them would have taken some days to reduce, even admitting that Ramgurh could have held out no longer; it was near the middle of March before Colonel Cooper was prepared to batter Taragurh, the next place he attacked: the breach was practicable the following day, but the garrison evacuated the fort in the night. Chumba, on the same ridge, was next attacked, and by the middle of March, after a day's battering, the garrison hung out the white flag, and surrendered prisoners of war. The chiefs expressed considerable alarm lest their families should suffer from Umur Sing's severity; to deceive him, therefore, the Colonel ordered the guns to continue firing occasionally blank cartridge, while some of the prisoners were released that they might endeavour to bring away their families from Maloun.

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The whole of the strong forts in the rear being thus reduced and occupied, Colonel Cooper followed the main army to take part in the last operations against Maloun, and by the middle of April all was prepared for a combined movement, the plan of which the General had been for some time considering; our immediate object was to effect a lodgment within the series of heights that formed Umur Sing's present position.

His line stretched between the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, presenting to the view a series of connected peaks, more or less abrupt, and each crowned with a stockade, excepting two, which had the names of Ryla peak and Deothul. The former was conveniently situated for operations against Soorujgurh, which it would effectually cut off from Maloun; the latter was in the very heart of the Nepaulese position, and not one thousand yards from Maloun itself.

It was to be expected that the whole force of the Nepaulese would oppose the occupation



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of Deothul, which was the main object of attack. Sir David Ochterlony reckoned, however, that even if he failed there, the possession of Ryla would still be a great advantage, and that the movement on both points at the same time would contribute to distract the enemy. To assist the enterprise further, a diversion was planned by other detachments, which were directed to march right upon the enemy's cantonment under the walls of Maloun.

It will be proper to explain this movement more in detail. Five columns altogether were put in motion, besides detachments for the diversion, and the following was the part assigned to each.

The first from Pulta, one of the posts opposed to Soorujgurh, on the enemy's extreme right, consisted of two light companies of the 19th N.I. under Lieutenant Fleming, who, attended by a strong body of irregulars, was to make a secret night movement on Ryla, and there show a light as a signal for the

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movement of the other columns. Immediately on seeing it, Captain Hamilton was to march on the same point with his own and Lieutenant Lidlie's detachments, assembled for the purpose at Iynugur, while a Grenadier battalion from head-quarters under Major Innes moved simultaneously in the same direction. This force was destined to support Lieutenant Fleming and to occupy Ryla; while Major Lawrie with the 2nd battalion of the 7th N.I. from his position at Kalee to the right, and Lieutenant Colonel Thompson with the 2nd battalion of the 3rd N.I., from Sir David Ochterlony's head-quarters, were to lead each separate column on Deothul, and two field pieces were attached to the latter for the defence of the position when occupied. Two smaller detachments, one led by Captain Bowyer, and the other by Captain Showers, and consisting each of three companies, besides irregulars, were to move from opposite sides direct upon the Nepaulese cantonment, in order to create the

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diversion above alluded to in aid of the occupation of Deothul.

Ryla was occupied by Lieutenant Fleming in the course of the night of the 14th, and at the sight of the signal, by which it was preconcerted that notice of this event should be communicated, Captain Hamilton and Major Innes marched on the same point, and in the course of the morning established themselves without meeting any opposition. The signal being repeated from a conspicuous station behind the General's camp, the two columns under Colonel Thompson and Major Lawrie marched immediately to the Gumrora, and waiting there till daylight moved from opposite directions on Deothul. They just met at the last ascent, and pushed on together to seize the point, at about ten in the morning, when a contest commenced as severe as any in which our native troops have ever been engaged. As the head of the first column approached the summit of Deothul, a picquet of not more than twenty

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or thirty Nepaulese charged fearlessly on the advance guard, and occasioned a check that was near proving fatal to the success of the movement. The exertions of the officers, however, particularly of Major Lawrie, restored the men to a sense of duty, and they advanced boldly and dislodged the enemy as well from Deothul as from other posts in the immediate neighbourhood. The day was spent in desultory fighting about the position, and every exertion was made in the evening, and during the night to throw up defences about Deothul in the conviction that the struggle for the post had yet to come.

The Nepaulese had been occupied during the day in opposing and pursuing the detachments of Captains Showers and Bowyer, which had thus completely succeeded in withdrawing their attention from the main object. The former officer marched from Rutunghur, and early in the day found himself within the stockades of the enemy. He was of a peculiar chivalrous spirit, and thinking he had instilled the same

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ardour and fearlessness into his men, urged them to trust only to the bayonet, and in this view he commanded them not to load. As the column approached the cantonments, a body of Nepaulese came boldly down upon them, when Captain Showers stepped forward to lead the projected charge; the Sepoys, however, not being on ground where they could form readily, proved unequal to the trial, and the captain was left alone to stand the shock. A personal combat ensued with the Nepaulese chief, and he was slain by the Captain, who happened to be an excellent swordsman. This brave officer was, however, shot dead immediately afterwards, which completed the confusion.

The detachment fled precipitately as far as Lag village, and were pursued by the Nepaulese. This spot being however open, the men were rallied by Lieutenant Rutledge; and having had time to load, offered a successful opposition, and again assumed the offensive.

Captain Bowyer in the meantime had marched

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from Kalee at daybreak, and reached the point assigned to him as a post of observation by seven in the morning; there he was attacked, and maintained himself till noon; when, perceiving the entire failure of Captain Showers, and thus seeing the impossibility of converting the feint into anything more beneficial, he commenced a retreat in the face of the enemy.

The retreat was executed with field-day precision, one half of the detachment retiring to position, and the other following under cover of its fire. The Nepaulese, who had anticipated confusion, and the destruction of the column, continued engaged in a fruitless pursuit during a great part of the day, but could effect nothing beyond occasioning a few casualties. They were thus effectually drawn away from the more important post at Deothul, which was in the meantime occupied, and secured as we have before mentioned.

The night was one of anxiety to both parties. Bhugtee Thapa, or more properly Bukhtyar Thapa, Umur Sing's best officer, saw from



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Soorujgurh the serious character of the operation intended; he accordingly left that place, with a chosen band, to take part in the struggle which impended. The absolute necessity of dislodging the British from Deothul, was but too apparent to Umur Sing and his council. There were, however, two complete battalions now established there, besides irregulars, and two pieces of field artillery had been brought up and placed in position, to say nothing of the works hastily prepared. The *élite* of the Nepaulese army were in this emergency collected, and two thousand more than could well operate at once on the broken ground of the ridge, were placed under the personal command of Bhugtee Thapa for the attack of Deothul next morning. Umur Sing himself also resolved to appear in the field with his youngest son, the only one with him, in order to encourage and support the attack.

Agreeably to the arrangements thus determined upon, the British position at Deothul was attacked at once on all sides where it was

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accessible just at daybreak, on the morning of the 16th of April. The Nepaulese came on with furious intrepedity so much so that several were bayoneted or cut to pieces within our works. Umur Sing stood all the while just within musket range with the Nepaulese colours planted beside him, while Bhugtee was everywhere exciting the men to further efforts. The Nepaulese particularly aimed at gaining possession of our guns, and directed their fire with so much effect against the artillery men that at one time three officers, Lieutenant Cartwright, Lieutenant Hutchinson, of the Engineers, and Lieutenant Armstrong of the Pioneers, were with one artilleryman the only persons remaining to serve them. The British commandant at Ryla, perceiving the desperate nature of the struggle at Deothul, sent a reinforcement with ammunition, which arrived very opportunely. After a contest of two hours continuance without intermission, the Nepaulese being observed to slacken their efforts, it was resolved to assume the offensive, and drive them

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back. Major Lawrie led this charge, and Bhugtee Thapa being killed in it, the enemy was every where put to flight, and the victory decided.

There were two hundred and thirteen killed and wounded on the side of the British, and the enemy left above five hundred men on the ground about the post of Deothul. In the course of the day, they sent to request permission to seek the body of Bhugtee Thapa, and it was found covered with wounds close to the foot of our defences. Sir David Ochterlony ordered it to be wrapped in shawls and delivered to Umur Sing in order to testify the respect his bravery had excited.

The total loss incurred in the operations of the 15th and 16th of April was, two officers, three Soobadars, four Naiks, and fifty-two Sepoys killed, and five officers, one serjeant, and two hundred and eighty-seven men wounded.

Taken altogether, this approached more nearly to a general action than any event that occurred in the campaign, and it was a proud triumph to the officers of the Indian army to

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have achieved so complete a victory on ground which gave such great advantages to the enemy, and with numbers so nearly equal, for not one half of Sir David's army were engaged.

The dispositions for the operations exhibited wonderful skill, and the precision with which the movement of the different detachments was calculated, reflects the greatest credit on those who collected the intelligence, and furnished the materials on which the plan was combined.

Lieutenant Lawtie, of the Engineers, was the most valuable instrument of those to whose exertions the General was indebted on the occasion. This young officer had, as field engineer, directed the operations of the late successful sieges under Colonel Cooper, and there had not been a movement or enterprise undertaken by the division since it took the field, that had not benefited by his professional zeal, activity, and penetration. His ardour in examining all the routes by which the Maloun position was to be approached, with a view to provide every possible contingency or mishap, led him into

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exertions that produced a fever, of which he died in the beginning of May ; but he had the satisfaction of first seeing the completion of the triumph he so essentially contributed to secure.

Sir David Ochterlony, who considered nothing done while anything remained, set himself immediately to prepare a road for heavy artillery to Deothul, and to strengthen Maloun by closing his positions round it. The Nepaulese likewise concentrated themselves about Maloun, withdrawing their garrisons from all the positions on the further side of Deothul, and even from Soorujgurh, though a place of some strength. The evacuation of this post gave Lieutenant Murray an opportunity of shewing his activity and vigilance, by intercepting and dispersing the garrison as it retired.

By the end of the first week in May, a battery was raised against Maloun, and news of the fall of Almorah having reached the Nepaulese camp, all the Sirdars urged Umur Sing to accept terms for himself and his son

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Runjoor at Jytuck. The old chief was however obstinate in refusing, and endeavoured with much earnestness to persuade his men, that if they did but hold out till the approaching rains, the British army would be obliged to withdraw.

Seeing the pertinacity of his refusal, the Sirdars began to desert with their men, until at last only about two hundred remained faithful to Umur Sing. With these he retired into the fortress of Maloun until the batteries were in readiness to open on its walls. Yielding at last to his fate, this proud chief, on the 15th May, signed a capitulation, in which it was agreed that the Nepaulese, or Goorkha nation should retire to the east of the Kalee, or Gogra, and resign to the British all the provinces from Kumaon westward. Runjoor Sing was of course included in these terms, and the father and son, after giving orders for the surrender of all the remaining garrisons, were safely conducted, with all who chose to

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accompany them, to the other side of the Kalee, as stipulated.

Many of the Nepaulese soldiers took service with the British, and three battalions were, at the suggestion of Sir David Ochterlony, formed of them, and called Nuseeree battalions. A provincial corps was likewise raised for Kumaon civil duties, in order to allow a further opening for the employment of the military classes.

Thus the campaign, which in January promised nothing but disaster, finished in May by leaving in the possession of the British the whole tract of hills from the Gogra to the Sutlej. A very few words will suffice to explain the nature of the arrangements made for the occupation and management of this tract. Kumaon was made a province of the British territory, and the Honourable Edward Gardner was appointed Commissioner, with full power for the administration of its affairs. The Doon was likewise retained, and annexed ultimately to

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the Seharunpoor district. The remainder of the hill-country was restored to the several Rajahs and chiefs from whom Umur Sing had conquered it, with exception to Subathoo, Raeengurh, Nahn, and one or two other places, which were made military posts for the Nuseeree battalions.

The principle adopted was, to place all the chiefs in precisely the same condition as they stood with respect to each other before the appearance of the Nepaulese, and to leave them each in the free enjoyment of his own, under the general protection of the British Government. Mr. Frazer, the political agent attached to the force of General Martindell, was, in the first instance, invested with the duty of introducing this system; and for that purpose, some time before the surrender of Jytuck, he undertook a journey into Gurhwal, and afterwards made a tour of the principal places in the hills, where he was instrumental in confirming the Rajahs and Thakoors in the assurance of their security, and in reconciling

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them to the new state of things. Ultimately, Gurhwal being restored to its Rajah, the superintendence of the affairs of all the western chiefs was vested in Sir David Ochterlony, on whose part a military assistant was appointed to reside at Subathoo.

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## CHAPTER II.

### NEGOCIATIONS OF PEACE.

In hazarding a breach with the British government, the Nepaulese had never speculated on rousing it to such exertions as they witnessed in the first campaign. Notwithstanding their early successes, therefore, they very soon repented of the rash measures by which they had brought themselves into so hopeless a contest. Even when at the height of their prosperity, the immensity of the preparations, and the perseverance of their enemy convinced them their cause was desperate, and they would willingly have given up every object

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in dispute, could they by that means have brought the war to an honourable termination. They were prepared also for some sacrifices, if such should be required.

It appears, from an intercepted letter, addressed to Umur Sing from the Rajah, on the 2nd March, 1815, that immediately on the fall of Nalapanee, he was consulted as to the policy of giving up the Dehra Doon and the hilly tract west of the Jumna, in addition to the contested lands on the Sarun and Goruckpore frontiers. That chief's opinion was adverse to any cession of hill territory. Though vested, therefore, with power to negociate on this footing, if the plan had met his approval, he never indicated to Sir David Ochterlony any disposition to treat on such a basis.

Upon the conquest of Kumaon, the Nepaulese Governor of that province, Bum Sah, a man of some consideration in the state, expressed much desire to be the means of re-establishing the former relations between the two powers, and

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the occasion was taken of assuring the Court of Khatmandoo, through him, that the British government entertained a reciprocal anxiety to restore the ancient good understanding.

After the campaign had closed so triumphantly for us, the desire for peace seemed to have increased at the capital of Nepaul. Most of the chiefs appeared to have become sensible that their confidence of security in the ruggedness of their mountains was a vain illusion, and although a considerable faction still maintained their hostile disposition, all parties united in the wish to discover on what terms peace would be granted. Accordingly in May 1815, Gooroo Gujraj Misur, the family priest of the Rajah was sent down from Khatmandoo with full powers under the red seal, and with instructions to negociate with Major Bradshaw, the British political agent in that quarter, an entire adjustment of all differences.

This overture was met by an unreserved disclosure of the sacrifices which Lord Hastings conceived himself to be now justified in demand-

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ing. They were: First, The perpetual cession of all the hill-country taken in the campaign, viz: from the Kalee, westward. Secondly, A like cession of the entire Turai from the foot of the outer hills along the whole line of the remaining territory of the Goorkhas. Thirdly, The relinquishment by the Goorkhas of the footing they had gained in the territory of the Sikhim Rajah, and the surrender to that chief of the stockaded forts of Nagree and Nagurkot; and finally the reception of a Resident with the usual escort and establishment at Khatmandoo, and the customary stipulation not to receive or give service to Europeans without the special sanction of the government.

Major P. Bradshaw stated to the Gooroo that he could not negociate except on this basis, and the Gooroo declaring he had no authority to treat for any cession in the Turai, excepting the disputed tracts, the overture was broken off, and Gujraj Misur returned to Khatmandoo.

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From a hope that other negociators might be more accommodating, the Goorkha court empowered Bum Sah to make a second overture to the Honourable E. Gardner, who was now civil commissioner for the management of the province of Kumaon. That officer had been instructed as to the manner in which such an overture was to be received. Accordingly, the reply to Bum Sah being similar in every respect to that made to the Gooroo, the negociation in that quarter was similarly broken off.

In the meantime, the army, which had been collected on the Sarun frontiers, was cantoned to the north of the Ganges, or at Dinapoor, the cantonment of Patna; and was kept in a state of equipment to be ready to take the field immediately the favourable season should return.

The Marquis of Hastings thinking that a second campaign might be inevitable, determined on so conducting it, as to humble the proud spirit of the Nepaulese chiefs; or

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if that were impossible, to crush this ambitious and aspiring nation for ever.

Preparation was made for penetrating, with a brigade from Kumaon, where Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Adams, a most excellent and steady officer, had succeeded Colonel Nicolls, while the latter was to operate against the Bhotwal and Palpa frontier with the army of General Wood considerably reinforced. Sir David Ochterlony was at the same time to be summoned from the north-west to take the command of the Sarun troops, which were destined to penetrate into the valley of Nepaul.

Although provision was thus made for pushing the war with vigour, the efforts of the government to re-establish peace were not relaxed; for many powerful considerations made this much the most desirable consummation at the juncture. It was with satisfaction, therefore, government learnt that the negociation was re-opened by the Gooroo

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who came again into the Turai, in August, for the purpose.

The Marquis of Hastings had, in the interim, ascertained that a main objection to the relinquishment of the Turai was, that most of the principal officers of the Nepaulese court had jageers there. Accordingly, to reconcile them to the cession, and to show that the British government did not desire it from any avaricious motive, his Lordship authorised his negociator to tender the amount of the estimated revenue in stipends, to be at the distribution of the Court of Khatmandoo. The annual assignment thus sanctioned, amounted to between two and three lacs of rupees, (£20,000 and £30,000) and his Lordship justly considered that a permanent peace was worth this sacrifice.

The Gooroo was made acquainted with the liberal disposition of the government, but after some consideration, he again broke off the negociation in September, declaring that the Nepaulese chiefs would never accede to a



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cession of the whole Turai, which was the main source of their subsistence, the hills themselves being comparatively unproductive.

The Marquis of Hastings, having maturely weighed the matter, resolved to proceed a step further for re-establishment of peace. It seemed evident, from what had passed, that no advantage offered in other shape would compensate to the Nepaulese government for the entire loss of the Turai and forests under the hills. That Court's repugnance to the cession was ascertained to be owing to the high estimate of the pecuniary value of the territory which was entertained by the chiefs rather than to any feeling of pride or objection to the humiliation of the step. The reception of a Resident was the article most offensive to them on this score; but this had been insisted on as a *sine quâ non;* and finding there was no hope of procuring a change, the Nepaulese had conceded the point. The Turai was, therefore, the only question remaining for discussion. For the last year that the British authorities had

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held the greater part of the tract, its management had been found very troublesome and expensive, and the climate was so noxious as to render the continuance in it of troops, and even of civil officers, impracticable for a large portion of the year. To us, therefore, the accession of territory promised little advantage, but much trouble and difficulty in the maintenance of the rights and privileges whence the revenue was derived. The demand of the cession, it is to be observed, chiefly originated in a desire (by exclusion of the Nepaulese from any interest in the lowlands), to take away the source of future contention, and at the same time to inflict an appropriate punishment for the encroachments, and other acts of violence and insult, which had brought on the war; the hope of profit in the tract formed no part of the motives which influenced the British government. Balancing the acquisition of the above objects, therefore, against the advantage of a restoration of peace, Lord Hastings finally determined to relax the rigour of the original terms; and a treaty was



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drafted, which the British negociator was desired to present openly to the Gooroo, in case of his expected re-appearance, accompanied by a declaration, that it contained the British ultimatum. In the draft, the Turai, from the Kaleet or Western Gogra, to the Gunduk, was all that was insisted on, and of the rest, so much only as was in our actual possession. Stipends to the extent of two lacs of rupees (£20,000) were still offered to be placed at the distribution of the court in compensation for the retained lands, and the draft contained a stipulation to this effect.

As was expected, the Raj Gooroo again sought out Major Bradshaw, and on this occasion Chunder Seekur Opadheea, who, at the close of the campaign, had been allowed to return to Khatmandoo, was associated with him. The drafted treaty was shown to them, when both declared they could not venture to accede to the terms, even as altered, without first submitting the draft to the Court. They engaged, however, that a definitive answer should arrive

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in fifteen days, and forwarded a copy of the proposed treaty to Khatmandoo for the purpose.

The term expired without their receiving any reply, and the negociators, being unable to redeem their pledge, begged submissively that the negociation might not be broken off, until they should themselves go to Khatmandoo and ascertain the cause. The Gooroo at the same time offered to sign the treaty, if the portion of Turai in the British occupation, viz., that lying between the Gunduk and Koosa were substituted for the offered stipends. This was refused, and the negociators took their leave on the 29th of October, promising to return in twelve days with the treaty signed.

The Supreme government, on hearing of the continued reluctance of the Nepaulese, called on the authorities in charge of the contiguous districts, to state their opinion as to the value of the several portions of the Turai, and the means of obtaining a good frontier line by the retention of part only of what had been occupied; thus preparing itself to make some

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further gratuitous concessions, either in lieu of the stipends, or in addition to them, in order the better to gratify the Nepaulese chiefs, and leave them in a disposition to execute and maintain the treaty when signed.

In the meantime the Raj Gooroo Gujraj Misur came down again from Khatmandoo, and signed the treaty according to the original draft. This was done at Segoulee, on the 28th of November, 1815. The Supreme government, on being apprised of the event, fired the usual salutes, and ratified the treaty on the 9th of December with due solemnity. It was determined, notwithstanding, to make the further concessions contemplated; and it was considered fortunate that the execution of the treaty without them, would yet more decidedly mark the act as a gratuitous bounty towards a fallen and suppliant foe. The conciliatory effect of the boon on the Sirdars would likewise, it was conceived, be enhanced by their not feeling themselves indebted for it to their own obstinacy, either in war or negociation.

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In the confidence of its own liberal views towards the Nepaulese, the British government never doubted the sincerity of the enemy. The very earnestness of their opposition in the course of the negociation seemed to show that the acceptance of the proffered terms was the deliberate act of the Court, and though their assent was unwilling, and tardy in the extreme, still this seemed to be fully accounted for by being attributed to the reluctance with which they entered into engagements they felt to be inviolable.

Adopting this view, the Governor-General reckoned that so soon as his further intentions for the benefit of the nation should be made known, the partial discontent which existed would give place to general satisfaction, and that all parties would be thankful for the restoration of peace. In this impression, the government hesitated not to suspend the preparations which had hitherto been actively making for a second campaign; and the commissariat officers, in their zeal for economy,

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went beyond the bounds of due discretion, and discharged a great part of the establishments which had been entertained for the transport of stores, selling also much of the grain which had been collected in the frontier depôts.

Of this precipitancy there was soon reason to repent. It was a stipulation of the treaty that the ratification under the red seal should be delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw in fifteen days. The period expired, and no ratification came; moreover, it was ascertained in the course of the month of December, that, after several very animated discussions at the Court of Khatmandoo, the war faction had again prevailed over that which favoured the Gooroo and his late negociations. Hence a renewal of hostilities was all that could be looked for, though it was of course expected to be the policy of the Nepaulese to waste as much of the season of action as possible by amusing us with fresh offers to negociate.

In order to anticipate such an attempt, and to show the serious light in which the past

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conduct of the court of Khatmandoo was regarded. Sir David Ochterlony was forthwith ordered into the field, and every possible exertion was made to furnish the stores and establishments requisite to give efficiency to his army. A letter was also written to the Rajah of Nepaul complaining of his want of faith, and warning him of the approach of the British army. He was told, however, that the consequences might yet be averted, by sending the treaty, duly ratified, to meet the General in the Turai.

A word or two may be required in order to explain the motives which seemed, at this time, to influence the Nepaulese councils. The non-ratification of the treaty of Segoulee has not ordinarily been attributed to any settled plan of deceit practised on the British Government, but it must be admitted that the time of the Raj Gooroo's signing, which was just that at which the army would otherwise have taken the field, is a very suspicious circumstance. There seems reason, however, to believe



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that the Raj Gooroo was himself sincere, and that the disavowal of his act was the result of a divided sentiment amongst the chiefs, part of whom strenuously advocated the necessity of accepting the terms offered, while others as violently opposed the measure.

The veteran, Umur Sing, and his sons who had recently arrived at the capital were amongst the warmest partizans of the war. Some notion of the proud spirit which actuated this chief may be formed from the intercepted letter written by him in March 1815, when he himself was closely beset on every side by the army of Sir David Ochterlony, against which he felt he could make no head. As the document is highly characteristic and shows the hopes which buoyed up the war faction in their determination to persevere rather than submit to what they deemed the first step to subjection. It may not be out of place to give it at length, though it has already been more than once before the public.

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"A copy of your letter of the 23rd December, addressed to Runjoor Sing, under the Red Seal, was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:

"The capture of Nalapanee, by the enemy, has been communicated to me from Gurhwal and Kumaon, as also the intelligence of his having marched to Nahn: having assembled his force, he now occupies the whole country from Barapursa to Subturee and Muhotree. My army is also secretly posted in various places in the jungles of the mountains; an army under a general, has arrived in Goruckpore for Palpa, and another detachment has reached the borders of Beejypoor. I have further heard that a general officer has set off from Calcutta to give us further trouble. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide. All this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy, after making immense prepa-

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rations, have begun the war; and unless great concessions are made, they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper; for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the departments of Bhotwal, Palpa, and Sheeoraj, and the disputed tracts already settled by the commissioners towards Barah.*

"If this be insufficient to establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Turai, the Doon, and the low-lands; and if the English are still dissatisfied, on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the mountains, you are herewith authorized to give up, with the Doon, the country as far as the Sutlej. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kunka Teestta to the Sutlej. If the enemy once

* Meaning the twenty-two villages on the Sarun frontier.

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obtain a footing in the centre of our territory, both extremities will be thrown into disorder.

"If you can retire with your army and military stores to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service, and retire to any part of our territory, which as far as Nepaul, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders:

"In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy, he will not be satisfied with all these concessions, or if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo; from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six crores of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would seek some fresh occasion of quarrel, and at a future opportunity would wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory, we should be

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unable to maintain our army on its present footing; and our military fame being once reduced, what means should we have left to defend our Eastern possessions? While we retain Bisahur, Gurhwal is secure; if the former be abandoned, the Bhootees of Ruwain will certainly betray us.

"Th English having thus acquired the Doon and Ruwain, it will be impossible for us to maintain Gurhwal; and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Dotee will be also lost to us. After the seizure of these provinces, Achain, Joomlee, and Dooloo will be wrested from us in succession. You say, 'that a porclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the eastern Kurats,' if they have joined the enemy, the other Kurats will do so likewise; and then the country Dood Koosee, on the east, to Bheeree on the west, cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishments? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Knox's mission, under

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pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; and if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply. They will begin by introducing a company; a battalion will soon after follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nepaul. You think, that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Doon, and the country to the Sutlej, were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nepaul: do not trust! they who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox,* and permit the establishment of a commercial factory, will usurp the government of Nepaul. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had in the first instance decided upon a

* Meaning apparently that the British would restore the fallen faction of the Pandes, and by their means govern Nepaul.

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pacific line of conduct, and agreed to restore the departments of Bhotwal and Sheeoraj; as adjusted by the commissioners, the present contest might have been avoided. But you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and by murdering their revenue officer, excited their indignation, and kindled a war for trifles.

"At Jytuck we obtained a victory over the enemy. In conjunction with the Seiks, my army will make a descent into the plains; and our forces crossing the Jumna from two different quarters, will recover possession of the Doon. When we reach Hurdwar, the Nuwab of Lucknow may be expected to take a part in the cause; and, on his accession to the general coalition, we may consider ourselves secure as far as Khunka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Bhulbudder, Koonwur and Rewunt Kajee will soon be able to reinforce the garrison of Jytuck; and I hope ere long, to send Punt Kajee with eight

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companies, when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day, and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jytuck.

"Formerly when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sundowlee, they continued for two years* in possession of Bareh Pursa and Muhotree; but, when you conquered Nepaul, they were either destroyed by your force, or fell victims to the climate, with the exception of a few only who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Choudundee, and Choudena in Bejypoor, and the two Kurats, and the ridge of Mahabharut.

"Suffer the enemy to retain the low-lands for a couple of years, measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement cannot again be

* Alluding to the expedition under Major Kinloch, when the Turai was occupied for two years, an event that Umur Sing was old enough to have witnessed.

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resumed; but if they have been taken by force, force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Seiks should not join us. Should you succeed now in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy, in the course of a few years, would be in possession of Nepaul, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo.

"The present, therefore, is not the time for treaty and conciliation. These expedients should have been tried before the murder of the revenue officer (in Goruckpore), or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favour of God, and your fortune and bounty, it shall be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Khunka to the Sutlej. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure; I will not now suffer the honour of my Prince to be

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sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it. But for me, call me to your presence; I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet. I can recollect the time when the Goorkha army did not exceed twelve thousand men. Through the favour of Heaven, and by the valour of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Khunka, on the east.

"Under the auspices of your father, we subjugated Kumaon, and, through your fortune, we have pushed our conquests to the Sutlej.

"Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nalapanee, Bhulbudder defeated three or four thousand of the enemy. At Jytuck, Runjoor Sing, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place, I am surrounded and daily fighting with the enemy, and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy.

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I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view, of attaching Runjeet Sing to our cause.

"On his accession, and after the advance of the Sheiks and Goorkhas towards the Jumna, the chiefs of the Dukhum may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nuwab of Lucknow, and the Salee-Ramee-Leech.*

"Then will be the time for us to drive out the enemy, and recover possession of the low countries of Palpa, as far as Bejypoor. If we succeed in gaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

"There has been no fighting in your quarter yet; the Choudundee and Choudena of Bejypoor, as far as the ridges of Muhabharut and Sooleeana, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thapas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an

* It is not known who Umur Sing means by the Salee-Ramee-Leech, and some other of his names of places and persons differ from any in common use.

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amicable adjustment without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nepaul, we implored the mercy of heaven by offerings to the Brahmins, and the performance of religious ceremonies; and through the favour of one, and intercession of the other, we succeeded in repulsing the enemy.

"Ever since you confiscated the Jageers of the Brahmins, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kaugrah; and orders to this effect, under the red seal, were addressed to me, and Nyn Sing Thapa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there is universal discontent. You ought therefore to assemble all the Brahmins, and promise to restore to them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousand

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worthy Brahmins will put up their prayers for your prosperity, and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity, the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved; and through the favour of God our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory, our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing, and even increased.

"The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy, yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of four thousand men, and Kaugrah might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces, the reputation and splendour of your court will no longer remain. By the capture of Kaugrah your name would have been rendered formidable; and though that has not happened, a powerful impression has nevertheless been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquests to the Sutlej. To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna, would give rise to the idea that

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the Goorkhas were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to the extent of four thousand men. The enemy will, moreover, require the possession of Bisahur, and after that, the conquest of Gurhwal will be easy; nor will it be possible, in that case, for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dotee, Acham, and Joomlah, whence he may be expected to penetrate even to Bheree. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out: the countries towards the Sutlej should be obstinately defended; the abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil; the possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquest.

"You ought, therefore, to direct Gooroo Rungnath Pundit, and Dulbunjun Pandeh, to give up the disputed lands of Bhotwal, Sheeoraj, and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of the Bareh, and thus, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this

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step I have no objections, and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must, however, declare a decided hostility to such as, in bringing about a reconciliation with the English, consult only their own interest, and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhurtpore by storm; but the Rajah Runjeet Sing destroyed an European regiment, and a battalion of Sepoys. To the present day, they have not ventured to meddle with Bhurtpore again; whence it would seem that one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dhurma they established their authority; but the Rajah overthrew their army, and captured all their artillery and stores; and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear; and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, let us confide

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our fortunes to our swords; and by boldly opposing the enemy, compel him to remain within his own territory; or, if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating, after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute, and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords, that Bhulbudder, with a force of six hundred men, defeated an army of three or four thousand English.

"His force consisted of the old Gourukh and Kurrukh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom, and of the people of the countries from Bheree to Gurhwal; and with these he destroyed one battalion, and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed; nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and cannot apprehend desertion from them; you have also an immense militia, and many



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Jageerdars, who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the low-lands, and fighting in the plains is impolitic; call them into the hills, and cut the enemy up by detail, (a passage here the sense of which cannot be discovered). The enemy is proud, and flushed with success, and has reduced, under his subjection, all the Western Zumindars, the Kanas, and Rajah of Kuhlor, and the Thakooraen, and will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct Ram Doss to propose to General Ochterlony the abandonment, on our part, of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive. All the Ranas, Rajas, and Thakooraen have joined the enemy, and I am surrounded; nevertheless, we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution.

"The Pundits have pronounced the month of Bysakh* as particularly auspicious for the Goorkhas; and by selecting a fortunate day,

* Commencing about the 10th or 12th of April.

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we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging with the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always first to begin the fight. I hope however, to be able to delay the battle till Bysakh, when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either Runjoor or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence.

"In the present crisis, it is very desirable to write to the Emperor of China, and to the Lama of Lassa, and to the other Lamas; and for this purpose, I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address; any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you, and I earnestly recommend that you will lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of of China, and a letter to the Lama."

Assuming this letter to contain a fair statement of the sentiments of those who advocated the continuance of war, it would seem that



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suspicion of the ulterior views of the British was a main ingredient of their present disposition. It is certain, however, that independently of such a suspicion, the events of the past campaign in the Turai, east of the Gogra, had filled many of the chiefs with the most presumptuous confidence in the strength of the barrier opposed by the forests and hill, which skirted their eastern territories, and that the occurrences to the west had very partially removed this feeling. From the Gogra to the Koosee, on a line of near eight hundred miles, the British armies had been wholly baffled; and though superior in force to those which achieved the conquests of the west, had not even ventured to cross the forest. Hence the Nepaulese felt assured that they might persevere in the war with impunity, so long as they kept the passes of the first range guarded, and under this impression, they saw no reason why they should assent to a permanent relinquishment of their independence

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by receiving a Resident, or give up the ambitious hope of recovering some part of their lost territory in the hills.

In this state of the public feeling at Khatmandoo, the treaty of Segoulee was, as we have before related, finally rejected by the chiefs; and every precaution taken to fortify and render impregnable the passes through the first range of hills. The principle route into the valley of Nepaul is by the Bicheea-Koh pass, which by distinction is called the Chooreea Ghatee or main pass over the Chooreea hills. Other minor passes have occasionally the same name applied to them, or at least to that part of the route by them which leads over the same range. The grand pass, however, is as before stated by Bicheea-Koh, and this the Nepaulese defended by three successive fortifications, the last of which was absolutely impregnable; all the other known routes were similarly defended, and in this manner the Nepaulese awaited the arrival of Sir David Ochterlony, leaving him the passage of the forest altogether free.

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The British army was already in motion to the Turai, when towards the beginning of February, it was met by Gujraj Misur with a formal intimation of the determination of the Nepaulese to recommence the war. Sir David Ochterlony had a force of near twenty thousand effective men, including three European regiments, Her Majesty's 24th, 66th, and 87th. He divided this force into four brigades, giving Colonel Kelly of the 24th one; Lieutenant-Colonel-Nicoll of the 66th another; and Lieutenant Colonel Miller of the 87th a third; while the fourth was commanded by Colonel Dick who has before been mentioned.

Colonel Kelly with his brigade and regiment were detached to the right by Bhugwanpoor with orders to penetrate, if possible, by Hurreehurpoor; Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll was similarly directed on Ramnughur to the left, while Sir David Ochterlony with the other two brigades, moved straight through the forest by Simlabassa to the foot of the Bicheea-Koh pass.

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On the 10th of February, 1816, Sir David established himself at a kind of caravanserai at the outlet of the pass, and at a short distance from the enemy's first stockade. The serai was quickly converted into a depôt, and the opposite works having been reconnoitered, and found unassailable, information was sought with earnestness as to the possibility of turning the pass by some route unknown to the enemy.

After four days thus spent without interruption of any kind from the Nepaulese army, a route was discovered by Captain Pickersgill, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, and on the 14th, at nine at night, Colonel Miller's brigade was led by the General in person through a deep and narrow ravine called Baleekola which brought the detachment to a water course leading to a steep acclivity, by which the first formidable barrier of hills was to be scaled. The march was continued during the whole night, and by seven in the morning, the Choorea Chatee heights to the west of the enemy's positions were occupied

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without resistance. In the course of the 15th, the brigade advanced about five miles to the Chukree Mukree Nulla, and there bivouacked for four days, waiting the arrival of its supplies and tents, for no laden animal had been able to accompany the troops.

For the first two days, the men suffered the greatest privations, being for the most part without food. Their hardships were participated in a great measure by the General himself, who had no baggage, and slept under cover of a hut, hastily constructed for him by the men of the 87th, of boughs cut from the green trees. All this, however, was submitted to with cheerfulness by both men and officers, in the conviction that the object of the movement was gained. On the morning following that of the General's march, Colonel Dick moved up close to the enemy's outer stockade, and in the course of the following day found the triple fortification evacuated by the Nepaulese, in consequence of the success of the operation for turning the position.

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By the 20th of February, the roads were prepared for a further advance, and the two brigades met again at Etounda on the banks of the Raptee, and here runs in a valley remarkably picturesque and beautiful: after a halt to establish a second depôt, the Major-General marched again on the 27th, moving up the valley to Muckwanpore, under which place he encamped in the evening at a village called Chougurha Mundee.

Muckwanpore is situate on a low ridge which lay to the north of the encampment stretching from west to east. The tower and fort were to the east opposed to our right, and on the other extremity was a village named Seekhur Kutree, which was also occupied by the enemy, on the General's first appearance under the position.

For some unknown reason, the Nepaulese withdrew their men from Seekhur Kutree next morning, which being observed by the British General, he immediately went with four companies and forty Europeans to seize the point. Captain Pickersgill accompanied them, and was pro-



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ceeding to occupy some other points along the ridge, when he perceived a large force of the enemy ascending the northern side of the hill, so as to cut him off from Seekhur Kutree which he had just left. He made good his retreat down the southern declivity into camp, while the Nepaulese advanced against the posts which had been occupied. They had recovered all but the village itself, and the men there had lost their commanding officer, Lieutenant Tirrell, and were beginning to feel the want of ammunition when the 25th N. I., which Sir David Ochterlony had kept under arms prepared for any exigency, came opportunely to their relief accompanied by the flank companies of the 87th. The post was now secured, and dispositions made to maintain it; but the Nepaulese unwilling to relinquish the advantage poured a force of two thousand men from the stockade near Muckwanpore, and showed a determination to recover the village at all hazards.

Sir David Ochterlony seeing that the contest

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was becoming every instant more serious, detached the 2nd battalion of the 12th N. I. with four more companies of the 87th, under the command of Colonel Miller, to support the troops at Seekhur Kutree; and turning out his line he further ordered the artillery to play on the different bodies of the enemy as they passed passed along the ridge to the attack. The Nepaulese seeing this, opened also their guns at Muckwanpore, turning them at first against the advancing parties, and subsequently on the camp and line, where Sir David and his staff were a conspicuous object. In the meantime, the junction of the reinforcement enabled the force at Seekhur Kutree to advance on the enemy, and, the Europeans leading, a charge was made which drove the Nepaulese beyond a hollow, separating this part of the ridge from Muckwanpore.

Detached parties of the enemy, however, still cowered down in the jungle on the ridge, and kept up a very destructive, though desultory, fire on our posts; they brought also some

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guns to the opposite side of the hollow, and thus continued to annoy us during the whole day. Towards the afternoon, Sir David despatched to Colonel Miller a fresh battalion, the 2nd of the 8th N. I. to enable him to finish the action, if possible, before sunset. The battalion upon its arrival was conducted by Major Nation across the hollow, and advancing with charged bayonets, captured the nearest of the enemy's guns, after which the Nepaulese retired within their fort and stockades leaving their dead and wounded at our mercy.

The Nepaulese were, in this action, led by Shumsheer Rana, the chief who commanded the attack on Captain Sibley's post at Pursa, in the previous campaign. Their whole force were engaged in the course of the day, and the defeat was signal, their loss in killed and wounded, having, by their own acknowledgment, exceeded eight hundred men. Of the British forty-five were killed, including eleven men of the 87th, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded, including nineteen Euro-

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peans, and Lieutenant and Adjutant P. Young of the 2nd battalion, 12th N. I. Lieutenant Tirrell was the only officer killed.

Colonel Nicoll, with his brigade, joined the Major-General on the day after the action, having successfully penetrated into the valley of the Raptee, by a pass to the north of Ramnughur, and having marched thence up the valley without meeting any opposition, the colonel left a strong detachment of two battalions in position at Ekoor, under Major Lumley, to maintain the communication by this route and keep the valley free of the enemy.

In the meantime, Colonel Kelly, who had orders to penetrate by Hurreehurpoor, succeeded likewise, in finding a route by which he entered the hills without opposition, and penetrated to that fortress. His march was, however, much impeded by the nature of the ground, and it was the 27th of February before he reached Rutunpoor, a village on the left bank of the Bhagmutee, a few miles to the south of the fort. He immediately made from thence a

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strong reconnoissance, and finding the post to be unassailable from the south, he resolved on crossing the Bhagmutee, and advancing to Ioorjoor, a village to the west of Hurreehurpoor, whence the approach seemed more easy. This movement was effected on the 29th of February.

The principal stockade of the enemy was about one thousand yards to the west of Hurreehurpoor, crowning the ridge in a semi-circular form, and commanding the valley of the Bhagmutee.

On the Colonel's first arrival at Ioorjoor, he observed an eminence of about eight hundred yards distant from this stockade, which the enemy had left unoccupied. He accordingly, next morning before daybreak, detached his light companies, under Captain (Brevet Major) Hughes of Her Majesty's 24th, supported by seven battalion companies under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran to seize the point. This detachment ascended and quickly established itself, driving off a picquet of the enemy it found there; no sooner, however, was

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it well in position, than the whole force of the Nepaulese came to the attack, and Colonel O'Halloran had to sustain an unequal fight from six in the morning until half-past eleven, exposed on every side to the fire of the enemy. At length, a strong reinforcement arrived with two 6-pounders and two howitzers on elephants. The enemy was then driven back with considerable loss, and the attempt on the position was not repeated. The Nepaulese, indeed, although their first attack was vigorous and obstinate, did not evince, on this occasion, quite so much bravery as was expected from the reputation of their commander, who was no other than Runjoor Sing, the defender of Jytuck. He had with him also a choice band of his associates in that defence, whom he had distinguished by crescents in their turbans, and by the pompous title "Band of the Moon." Runjoor was himself one of the first to leave the field, and his conduct in this action, and in subsequently abandoning his post, tarnished his bright name at the Court of Khatmandoo.

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The fort of Hurreehurpoor was evacuated in the night after this affair, and Colonel Kelly, having converted it into a depôt, was preparing for a further advance, when he received the General's orders to retrace his steps.

The news of the first defeat at Muckwanpore spread consternation at Khatmandoo, and without waiting for intelligence of the event at Hurreehurpoor, the Court immediately resolved on an attempt to deprecate *further vengeance* by *unqualified submission.*

The red seal was affixed in haste to the treaty of Segoulee, and an envoy sent to the camp of Sir David Ochterlony to notify that it was ready for delivery. The messenger brought a letter from Bukhtawur Sing, the Goorkha commander, requesting permission to send the instrument by Chunder Seekur Opadheea, who was stated to have come to Muckwanpore for the purpose.

The General returned for answer that the Goorkhas must not expect the same terms now as before the commencement of hostilities, but

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that he had no objection to receive the Opadheea if he came with full powers. At the same time the approaches were pushed on to within five hundred yards of Muckwanpore, and a battery was made ready against the place.

Chunder Seekur made his appearance in camp on the 3rd of March, and earnestly entreated the General to accept the ratified treaty. Sir David had been vested with full powers to use his own discretion in the acceptance of the former terms, or in advancing further demands, according as circumstances and the state of the season might prompt; but he was not to conclude a treaty until the enemy were sufficiently humbled to make it safe to rely on their sincerity.

This period seemed to Sir David to have now arrived, and in order to put their humility to the test, it was explained to Chunder Seekur that the letter of the treaty would give to the British all the territory in their occupation, and would now, therefore, include the valley of the Raptee, as well as Hetounda and Hurreehurpoor.

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At the same time the Opadheea was assured that he must no longer expect any concession beyond the letter, and he was called upon to give a specific note in writing, declaratory of his being influenced by no such hopes; and further, to engage that the Rajah should specifically confirm the declaration in a letter to the Governor-General.

To all this the Goorkha negociator readily assented, and he agreed, moreover, to present the ratified treaty on his knees at the General's Durbar, in the presence of all the Vakeels in camp.

This solemnity having passed, the General concluded the treaty, and dispatched Lieutenant Boileau of his staff to act as Resident at Khatmandoo until the Governor-General should nominate a proper officer. He prepared, also, for his own return, but did not finally leave the hills until he received the orders for the surrender of the forts of Nagree and Nargurkot to the Rajah of Sikhim, and had ascertained that they would be duly executed.

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The following are the treaties and the subsequent engagements:

*Treaty of Peace between the Honourable East India Company and Maharajah Beckrum Sah, Rajah of Nepaul, settled between Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis, Earl of Moira, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by Raj Gooroo Gujraj Misur and Chunder Seekur Opadheea, on the part of Maharajah Koorman Jodh Beckrum Sah Bahadur Shumsheer Jung, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nepaul.*

"Whereas war has arisen between the Honourable East India Company, and the Rajah of Nepaul, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity, which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two states, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon.

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ARTICLE I.

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nepaul.

ARTICLE II.

"The Rajah of Nepaul renounces all claim to the lands which were the subject of discussion between the two states before the war; and acknowledges the right of the Honourable Company to the sovereignty of those lands.

ARTICLE III.

"The Rajah of Nepaul hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity, all the undermentioned territories, namely:—

*First.* — The whole of the low-lands between the rivers Kali and Raptee.

*Secondly.*—The whole of the low-lands (with the exception of Bhotwal Khas) lying between the Raptee and the Gunduk.

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*Thirdly.*—The whole of the low-lands between the Gunduk and Koosee, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

*Fourthly.*—All the low lands between the river Mechee and the Teesta.

*Fifthly.*—All the territories within the hills eastward of the River Mechee, including the fort and lands of Nagree, and the pass of Nagarcote, leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory shall be evacuated by the Goorkha troops within forty days from this date.

ARTICLE IV.

"With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the state of Nepaul, whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands ceded by the foregoing article, the British government agrees to settle pensions, to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of

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rupees per annum, on such chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nepaul, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunuds shall be granted under the seal and signature of the Governor-General for the pensions respectively.

ARTICLE V.

"The Rajah of Nepaul renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connexion with, the countries lying to the west of the River Kalee, and engages never to have any concern with these countries or the inhabitants thereof.

ARTICLE VI.

"The Rajah of Nepaul engages never to molest or disturb the Rajah of Sikhim in possession of his territories; but agrees, if any differences shall arise between the state of Nepaul and the Rajah of Sikhim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to the arbitration of the British

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government, by whose award the Rajah of Nepaul engages to abide.

ARTICLE VII.

"The Rajah of Nepaul hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British government.

ARTICLE VIII.

"In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two states, it is agreed that accredited ministers from each shall reside at the Court of the other.

ARTICLE IX.

"This treaty, consisting of nine articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nepaul within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver to the Rajah the ratification of the Governor-

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General within twenty-days, or sooner, if practicable.

"Done at Segoulee on the 2nd day of December, 1815."

(Signed)

(L. S.) PARIS BRADSHAW, *Lieut.-Col., P.A.*

(L. S.) GURAJ MISUR.

(L. S.) CHUNDER SEEKUR OPADHEEA.

Received this treaty from Chunder Seekur Opadheea, Agent on the part of the Rajah of Nepaul, in the valley of Muckwanpore, at half-past two o'clock, P.M., on the 4th March, 1816, and delivered to him the counterpart treaty on behalf of the British Government.

(Signed) D. OCHTERLONY,
*Agent Governor-General.*

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*Translation of an Engagement (Ikrarnama) in the Hindee language, executed at Muckwanpore, Mandee, by Kajee Bukhtawur Sing Thapa, and Chunder Seekur Opadheea, Plenipotentiaries on the part of the Rajah of Nepaul, and forwarded by General Sir David Ochterlony, along with the above Treaty.*

"At the time of delivering the treaty, Major-General Sir David Ochterlony was pleased to observe, that the Right Honourable the Governor-General had not authorized him to accept the treaty, and that he could not encourage any hope of those indulgencies, of which a prospect had been held out by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, being granted in addition to the treaty; that his Lordship indeed would not grant them, and that he (the General) would not recommend him to do so; that nothing beyond what was stated in the treaty would be allowed. Accordingly we, Sree Kajee Bukhtawur Sing Thapa and Chunder Seekher Opadheea, have agreed to what Sir David Ochterlony has required, in testimony whereof we have executed this



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razeenama and delivered it to the Major-General, dated 5th of Soodee Phagun, 1872, Sumbut, corresponding with Tuesday, the 4th of March, 1816.

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) J. MONKTON,

*Personal Secretary to Government.*

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*From the Rajah of Nepaul, received on the 18th March, 1816.*

"On the 21st Maug, 1872, Sumbut, corresponding with the 2nd February, 1816, I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, dated 13th January, stating that it was your hope and expectation to have been able to address me in the language of friendship and congratulation, on the renewal of the former relations of amity between the British government and the state of Nepaul; but that, unfortunately, that hope and that expectation had been defeated and frustrated by the

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extraordinary conduct adopted by my government, in refusing to ratify a solemn treaty concluded by my authorized agents, stated by myself and my ministers to have been vested with full powers; intimating, however, at the same time, that there was yet time to avoid the danger to which I had exposed myself, namely, that the instant ratification of the treaty, and its transmission to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, would avert the impending evil, and would even induce your Lordship to consider the propriety of relaxing from the rigour of some parts of the engagement, but that any delay would be fatal; adding also, that your letter would be forwarded to me by the Major-General, who was vested with the command of the British force advancing into my territory, and with the conduct of all political affairs with my government.

"The relations of harmony and friendship between the Honourable English Company and this state, by the favour of the British government, had subsisted, without any differ-



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ence of interest, for a period of fifty years; and my ancestors were always grateful for its kindness. I also had no other wish but that of conforming to ancient rule; and the British government likewise conducted itself, as usual, in the spirit of kindness. Were I, indeed, to attribute the late transactions either to error on my side, or to unkindness on the part of the British government, I should be wrong. I ascribe all this war and tumult solely to the malignity of fortune. I nevertheless flattered myself that your Lordship still had my welfare at heart.

"Accordingly, when your Lordship addressed your letter of friendly admonition to me, I considered the counsel and advice which it contained to be all for my own good. I wished, therefore, agreeably to your Lordship's injunctions, and for my own interests, to transmit the treaty by the hands of a confidential officer, to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony; but unfortunately, my evil destiny led me to delay its transmission, and, in the meantime,

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Sir David Ochterlony advanced with the British army to Mandee, near Muckwanpore.

"As I had no other object in view than the restoration of peace and friendship between the two States, I successively dispatched Kajee Sing Thapa, and Chunder Seekur Opadheea, with the ratified treaty to Sir David Ochterlony, who, knowing your Lordship's favourable disposition towards me, and being himself also kindly disposed, opened a communication with Kajee Bukhtawur Sing, for the restoration of peace and amity, and received the treaty from the hands of that officer and Chunder Seekur Opadheea; delivering to them, at the same time in exchange, for the purpose of being forwarded to me, the counterpart of it, under your Lordship's seal and signature, which I have since received.

"Sir David Ochterlony caused Kajee Bukhtawur Sing and Chunder Seekur Opadheea to execute a separate engagement in the Hindee language (Ikarnama), the contents of which will be made known to your Lordship by the

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Major-General's communications. I hereby confirm that engagement.

"It only remains for me to express my hope that your Lordship will manifest your generosity and magnanimity in such a manner as to secure to this state the same rank and consideration which it has hitherto enjoyed; a compliance with this request is not inconsistent with the dictates of liberality and benevolence.

"I trust that your Lordship, believing me to be ever anxious for the pleasing accounts of your health, will continue to gratify me by kind letters.

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) J. MONKTON,
*Personal Secretary to Government.*

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Lord Hastings was much pleased with the result to which Sir David Ochterlony had thus brought the campaign in so short a space of

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time; more particularly so, because the late period at which the operations had unavoidably been undertaken, after the interruption to the preparations which occurred in November and December, had made him apprehensive of the arrival of the unhealthy season before there would be time effectually to humble the enemy. Sir David himself, too, had discovered that the capture of Muckwanpore would be the limit of what could be effected this campaign, for he found it would not be safe to keep the troops in that valley after the middle of March; this, therefore, was not the least powerful of the motives which influenced him in granting the terms.

The articles of the treaty were all punctually executed according to agreement. The Supreme government thought, notwithstanding what had passed, that it would be a politic act of conciliation to give up such of the Turai as might not be required to form a straight and even frontier in lieu of the pensions stipulated in the treaty. The Marquis of Hastings therefore after every

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article had been executed, gave notice to the Rajah of his intention to send the Honourable Edward Gardener to Khatmandoo as resident, and to empower him to conclude a new arrangement on that basis. This was subsequently effected, after a boundary had been surveyed and marked with pillars of masonry, to prevent the possibility of any future disputes between the Nepaulese officers and our Zumindars.

The part of the Turai which skirted the Oudh dominion was however retained, and with Khyreegurh, a pergunna of Rohilkund lying on the Oudh side of the Gogra, was made over to the Nuwab Vizeer, in extinction of the second loan of a crore of rupees obtained from him during the war.

With the Sikhimputee Rajah, a treaty was concluded by Major Latter, at Titaleea, on the 10th of February 1817 in which, amongst other articles, there is one guaranteeing the possessions of the Rajah to himself and his family. A small strip of the Turai also, lying between the Michhee and the Teesta (part of

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what was retained under the final arrangements concluded with Nepaul) was ceded to this Rajah for a line of communication.

The policy of this guarantee cannot be doubted. Its effect has been to shut out the Nepaulese from any ambitious views of aggrandizement to the east, and to circumscribe their territory on three sides by the British power, while on the fourth the stupendous range of the Himalaya and the Chinese frontier, present an effectual barrier. Thus while the British and Chinese empires continue in their present strength, the hope of extending their dominion must be extinguished, and the military spirit which was fostered by the series of victories gained over the surrounding Rajahs, must die away for want of employment.

It now only remains to state the nature of the relations subsisting between the government of Nepaul and the celestial empire and the result of the application made to Pekin for assistance during the campaign 1814—15.

In the first government of Lord Cornwallis,



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the Goorkhas have invaded Tibet and plundered the palace of the Teeshoo Lama at Jigurchee or Digurchee, a Chinese army was sent to punish them. The Goorkhas retired before it, but contrived to maintain themselves for some time without much loss. This produced an overture from the Chinese commander that the British should co-operate in a simultaneous attack on Nepaul. The proposition was not favourably received, and the Chinese having changed their General gained an important victory in the Tingree Desert, and thus succeeded at last in reducing the Nepaulese to submission. From that time Nepaul has been considered by the Chinese as a tributary country, and though nothing is demanded beyond some nominal offerings, still a legation proceeds every three years from Khatmandoo to renew the assurances of allegiance and good faith.

On the war breaking out with the British, the Nepaulese represented to the Court of Pekin that the difference had arisen in consequence of our having demanded the passes through

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Heemâchul, which they as faithful allies, had refused to give. The Chinese attached no credit to the representation until they received, through their own officers, at Lassa, a long manifesto, in which the Supreme government, knowing the relations which existed between Khatmandoo and the Celestial Empire, thought it expedient to forward an explanation of the real cause of war.

The Chinese now argued that there might probably be some truth in what the Goorkhas had represented of our ambitious views, as so much pains were taken to disavow, or, as they conceived, to disguise them. Accordingly, it was determined, by the Court of Pekin, that a force should immediately be directed to the quarter menaced, and that one of the most confidential ministers, and a military man, should proceed to ascertain the state of things in Nepaul.

So slow were the Chinese in executing their determination, that the war was actually over before their army was heard of at Khatmandoo.

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In September, 1816, however, the Governor-General received, through the Sikhim Rajah, a letter, written in scarcely intelligible Persian, from a person styling himself Shee Cheeoon Chang, Vizeer, or Prime Minister, the chief authority of Lassa, and another principal officer of the frontier. The object of the letter was to ask distinctly what were the views of the British government in that direction, and to state how they had been misrepresented. In the course of the same month, the Goorkhas, having heard that a Chinese force had arrived at Digurchee, or Jigurchee, in August, applied directly to the Resident to know whether in case the Chinese demanded any further submission beyond what had already been acceded to, they might depend on the co-operation of the British in resisting them.

In this state of things the Supreme government forbad any assurance of support to be given to the Nepaulese, lest it should encourage them in seeking cause of quarrel with the Chinese. The Governor-General also communicated a

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statement of all that had occurred in reply to the letter which had been received through the Sikhim Rajah. With this answer, the Chinese authorities professed themselves satisfied, in so far as the British were concerned; they demanded, however, that some confidential agents from Nepaul should wait upon them, and the following account of what passed at the interview was obtained afterwards from a Cashmeerian of the suite.

The first visit was one of pure ceremony, but the Goorkha Vakeels, Dilbunjun Pande, and Colonel Runbeer Sing Thapa, waited again on Cheeoon Chang on the following day, when his excellency commenced by asking "What had become of the Pandes and Bishnawuth's?" (leaders of the expedition into Tibet before alluded to;) and he added, "Who are these Thapas that I never before heard of? You Goorkhas are a mischievous race, and have caused the ruin of many Rajahs. Digurchee, too, you plundered without cause or provocation, and now you have thought to act the

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Digurchee scene with the English and so murdered their police-officer, after settling the question by negociation. You have been punished justly; you wrote us of war, and have since written of peace yet still ask our aid. What kind of peace is this?"

The Nepaulese urged that if not inclined to give assistance to recover what had been lost, the Chinese authorities would at least lend their good offices to procure the removal of the Residency from Khatmandoo.

Cheeoon Chang replied, "You wrote that it was to establish a factory that the English had come; why should I remove merchants?"

Dilbunjun, one of the Vakeels on this said: "They were not merchants, but soldiers and officers that they desired to be rid of."

Cheeoon Chang replied: "The English have written that their object is to cement peace; and it appears you have agreed to receive the Resident. You wrote us that the English had demanded the passes into Koten China, but we know this is false; if they desired

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to come to China it would not be by that route."

Turning to Colonel Runbeer, the other Vakeel, Cheeoon Chang continued in a tone of irony: "You Goorkhas think the hills have no soldiers but yourselves: how many of you may there be? About two lakh, I suppose. And what is your revenue?"

Runbeer replied: "That his excellency was right in the number of fighting men; and that the revenue of the hill-country was very small not exceeding five lakh of rupees."

"Truly," said Cheeoon Chang, "you are a mighty nation," and with this he dismissed the Vakeels.

The Chinese were so fully satisfied with the intelligence procured on this occasion, that they immediately withdrew their troops from Digurchee and Lassa. They betrayed, however, a little jealousy at the establishment of a Resident at Khatmandoo, and in reply to a letter of the Governor-General, after stating that they were perfectly satisfied, the Vizier

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introduced a hint that they should be still better pleased were he withdrawn. It was couched in the following terms:

"You mention that you have stationed a Vakeel in Nepaul. This is a matter of no consequence, but as the Rajah, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing has imbibed some suspicions, if you would out of kindness towards us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your Vakeel from thence, it would be better, and we should feel very much obliged to you."

These minute details are perhaps too puerile to be recorded at such length, but as so little is known of the conduct pursued by the Chinese in their relations with other Asiatic powers, at the same time that there is an interest about everything that brings us politically into contact with them, it is hoped that this full account of their proceedings at Digurchee will not prove unamusing or out of place.

To the above statement of occurrences after the treaty, it only remains to add that the

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young Rajah of Nepaul died on the 20th November 1816 of the small-pox, and was succeeded by an infant son named Raj Indur Bikrum Sah. This event contributed to fix more firmly the authority of the party of General Bhem Sing, by giving him another lease of uncontrolled dominion pending a second long minority.

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## CHAPTER III.

### NEPAUL, SINCE THE WAR.

TWENTY-TWO years elapsed after the termination of the war, and no fresh ground for quarrel was presented by the Nepaulese. The treaties were respected, and the internal condition of the kingdom was peaceable. This happy state of things was owing to the good and wise management of Bhem Sing Thapa, who had succeeded to the Regency on the death of the King, and had retained power during the minority of his son, ably directing both the home and foreign policy of the Durbar.

History is rife with instances of the mischievous results, of the ambitions and intrigues of Queens who do not enjoy sovereign power. Where ministers have not been their ready

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tools, they have been sacrificed as their victims. Bhem Sing was destined to fill a place in the latter category. The young Rajah having married the daughter of a Goruckpore farmer, a person of very inferior rank, she soon began to develop those qualities which almost invariably accompany the possession of power by those females who have not been trained to its exercise. As a wife, her conduct was exemplary: scandal had not touched her fair fame; but her disposition was restless in the extreme. She sighed for a share in the political authority of her husband; but she felt that, while Bhem Sing continued to possess the royal ear, and to influence the young King's action, she had not the remotest prospect of gratifying her desire. The overthrow and destruction of the Minister Regent were therefore, resolved upon.

But Bhem Sing, aware of the prejudices against him, took care to have the household entirely in his interest, and learning from his spies, about the person of the King and Queen,

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that some mischief was brewing, he had recourse to an old political trick, which he believed would at once annihilate the prospects of his rival. He represented to the young Rajah, the great importance of his exercising individual sway in Nepaul, and securing the succession to his own heir. The young Queen never having borne him a son, it was recommended that his Majesty should seek a new partner, who might be more prolific. In this proposal, Bhem Sing received the cordial support of the priesthood, who foresaw, in the ceremonials consequent upon a royal wedding, abundance of opportunity for the gratification of their cupidity.

The King, whose passion for his wife had somewhat subsided, listened with pleasure to Bhem Sing's proposition, and the preliminaries being soon settled, another Goruckpore Zumindar supplied a daughter, for a consideration, and the King of the Goorkhas had a second wife. The prospect of a royal settle-

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ment reconciled the latter to all the risks, which might naturally be expected to attend a rencontre with the discarded Queen.

Bhem Sing exulted over the success of his first political move; but he was not long destined to enjoy his triumph. The senior Queen, the *divorcée*, furious at her supercession consulted with the Pandee factions, the bitter enemies of Bhem Sing and the Thapa clan, and laid at the door of the minister a number of serious charges, each of which, if proved, would have sufficed to bring him to the scaffold. Among other crimes imputed to him, was that of beheading a number of Pandees, in order to consolidate his power after he had acquired the Regency. He was likewise charged with accumulating wealth by indirect means.

The King, too weak to resist the accumulation of calumny, strongly and continually pressed, and feeling perhaps that he no longer needed the aid of his once valuable minister, caused Bhem Sing to be imprisoned upon all

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the charges; and in a very short time persecution reached its climax. The exact manner of his destruction was never ascertained; but Bhem Sing was found dead in his cell with his throat frightfully mangled. His body, by the order of the Rajah, was placed on the banks of the Bhagmuttee, and denied all favoured rites; a guard being placed over it by night and by day, to watch that none approached it but jackalls and vultures. His property confiscated, and all his relations treated as outcasts, his favourite nephew, Matabar Sing, fled to the British territory, where he found shelter.*

Two or three years after these occurrences, the Nepaulese began to betray their old weakness. Wisdom had fled from their councils with the spirit of Bhem Sing, and the restlessness which had led them into collisions with their neighbours revived.

About this time, the British government

* Matabar Sing had previously paid a visit to Calcutta at the head of a complimentary mission. He was much admired and *fêted*.

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had embarked on the Affghanistan policy, which led to the occupation of Cabul by a British force; and the Nepaulese, ignorant of our real strength, conceived that the time had arrived for concerting, with the cabinets of Lahore and Gwalior, an attack upon our (supposed) undefended possessions. Anticipating their assent to a proposal for driving us out of India, the infatuated Rajah commenced operations by seizing upon four hundred villages, which he was afterwards obliged, most reluctantly to surrender. Coevally with the mission to the Punjab and the Gwalior state, an embassy was despatched to Pekin for assistance, in men and money, against the English. As, however, Nepaul was at this time tributary to China, in consequence of her having some fifty years since invaded the Chinese territory, and committed great depredations, the Celestial Emperor treated the embassy as a piece of great impertinence, and made it a pretext for dispatching a large Tartar force to Nay-a-Rote, only three marches from Estnordoo, the Goorkha

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capital, a measure which excited so much alarm, that the Nepaulese were glad to sue for pardon on any terms. The pardon was granted conditionally, that an additional tribute of £10,000 was sent overland every five years to Pekin, and the pre-eminence of China acknowledged. China, doubtless, had her reasons for refusing to co-operate in any wild measures of offence against the British power in India, for she had just began to feel the influence of our arms on her coasts and fortified towns.

At the period of which we treat, the British Minister at the Court of Nepaul was Mr. W. H. Hodgson, of the Bengal Civil Service, an amiable man, devoted to the pursuits of science, and so accustomed to a serene political atmosphere, as scarcely to perceive the full extent of the mischief meditated by the Cabinet of Khatmandoo. Aroused, however, by the violent seizure of the villages afore-mentioned, he soon made adequate representations to the Government of India; and the consequence was, that a British force was sent to the

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frontier to check any threatened invasion of the territory, and to act in such a way as circumstances might dictate.

The command of this force was given to Colonel Oglander, of the 26th Cameronians; and for two years it was kept on the frontier without firing a shot. It had, however, one remarkable effect, namely, the dismissal of the so-called war faction (the Pandee Ministry), and the appointment of a new government, called the Chountra Ministry, at the head of whom was one Futty Jung, who was said to be the friend of peace and order, and well disposed towards the British government. Indeed, the other chiefs of Nepaul hesitated not to call the Chountras the 'British Ministry;' and during the time the British troops remained on the frontier, they certainly showed every disposition to be on friendly terms with our government.

But the many subsequent threatened invasions of the Goorkhas, appearing to the British authorities to have principally for their object, the keeping in power those who were unable



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to maintain it without such a demonstration, it was determined to withdraw the force, leaving only one cavalry regiment at Segoulee, as a corps of observation, and to insure, if necessary, a safe retreat for the British Resident and his party.

The Chountra Ministry soon discovering that without some countenance from the British government, they were in considerable danger, became most urgent that the force might return; but to this our government would not listen, and the downfall of the Chountras became hourly more certain, and party-spirit to rage higher than ever. The King and the Durbar now evinced violent hostility towards the British Resident, and several scenes occurred which were remarkable for a rare mixture of absurdity and danger.*

* Upon one occasion the King came down to the Residency, accompanied by several chiefs and a large body of troops, and demanded that a British merchant, who had been trading for some years in Nepaul, and was within the walls of the Residency, should be given

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In the midst of his dilemma, the King now determined upon getting Matabar Sing back to his dominions, and accordingly missions were sent to induce him to return, offering him the situation of Prime Minister, and promising the restoration of all the property of his late uncle, Bhem Sing, which had been confiscated.

up. The merchant had become a party to a civil suit in the Nepaul Court of Law; but not having appeared in answer to a summons, judgment was given against him, and he became (the Nepaulese said) amenable to their penal laws. The British Resident deeming him a proper object of protection, refused to surrender his person. The Rajah waxed insolent, threatened immediate coercion, and even gave an order for the seizure of the merchant. The writer, being then in command of the escort, resisted the execution of this order, and assuming an attitude of defiance, alarmed the Nepaulese and his chiefs, and compelled them to withdraw themselves and their pretensions.

A few days after this—the Court being then in mourning for the senior Queen, neither the King nor chiefs, were allowed for a certain period, to ride either in carriages or on horseback—the King and heir apparent having had a quarrel, and a serious disturbance taking



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He at first refused, but at length listened to the proposals, and unfortunately for himself, returned.

He was received by the King and heir apparent with the greatest distinction, and at once offered the premiership. This he declined, until

place in the palace, determined upon coming down to the Residency; the heir apparent insisting that the Rajah should accompany him. It had been raining heavily in the morning, and about twelve o'clock we were informed that the Rajah and heir apparent were outside the Residency gates. We went out to meet them, and there found the Rajah and his son mounted on the backs of two very decrepit old chiefs. The heir apparent requested the Rajah at once to give us the order to pack up, and take our departure for the plains. The Rajah refused, whereupon the heir apparent abused him most grossly, and urging his old chief close up to the Rajah, assaulted him. A fight ensued, and after scratching and pulling each other's hair for some time, the son got hold of his father, pulled him over, and down they went, chiefs and all, into a very dirty puddle. The two old nags extricating themselves, hobbled away as fast as they could, as did the other followers from fear. After rolling in the muddy water,

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his deadly enemies, the Pandee ministers, had been destroyed.

The Rajah consented to do so on condition, that after the destruction of the Pandees, Matabar Sing was in turn to destroy the Chountra ministers, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to his Majesty, by thwarting his views in regard to the invasion of the British territory, and also in having coerced the Rajah, by causing a mutiny among his troops, and making him a prisoner in his palace until he signed sundry documents, binding himself to put an end to the numerous cruelties and insults inflicted upon some of the most influential chiefs in Nepaul. These the Rajah signed, but only to break them a very few hours after he had signed them. Matabar Sing undertook this without well considering his task. The late Pandee ministers were immediately arrested and ar-

up got the now two dirty Kings, and after some little delay, fresh nags were obtained, and the Rajah and his son were taken home.

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raigned for high misdemeanours before a council of chiefs, who, under the Rajah's instructions, found them guilty of all matters laid to their charge. They were sentenced to be beheaded, which sentence was duly carried into effect, and in a few hours the headless trunks of nine Pandee chiefs lay on the banks of the Bhagmuttee River. It will hardly be believed, that one of the charges laid against these unfortunate men, was that they had endeavoured to persuade their innocent sovereign to wage war against the British government.

The unhappy creatures did only what other ministers had done—acquiescing in, and recommending that which they had found best pleased their sovereign.

The King now called upon Matabar Sing to perform his part in the Nepaul tragedy; he promised compliance, but soon ascertained that the wholesale destruction of the Pandee ministers had united the chiefs in one common cause, to the oblivion of all their former feuds. Despairing of a successful fulfilment of his

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undertaking, Matabar Sing, who had always been an opium eater, now took it in excess, and gave himself up to all kinds of indulgences, rarely going to Durbar. The Rajah became displeased, and there were those about him, who, dreading Matabar Sing, lost no opportunity to injure him. The unfortunate Matabar was aroused at eleven o'clock at night, and a peremptory order for his attendance compelled him to appear at court. The Rajah grossly abused him, in which he was ably aided by the heir apparent, telling him he was a traitor, and that he had caused him by his false representations, to destroy the late Pandee ministers, who he now found were innocent.

A signal was then given, and twenty soldiers moved up with loaded muskets; the Rajah ordered them to fire at and destroy the traitor. The unfortunate Matabar fell frightfully wounded, and in this state he implored mercy. But the Rajah ordered the soldiers to reload and despatch him. This murder oc-

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curred in the upper rooms of the palace, being about four stories high. His body was ordered to be tied up in a blanket, and thrown out of the window to the court below, where a party were waiting for it; they immediately carried it to a funeral pile prepared some days before, and in half an hour there was not a vestige of Matabar Sing.

After the death of Matabar Sing, the Chountra ministry were once more requested to take office; they did so reluctantly, but held it for a very short time. Sirdar Gungun Sing, a man of low origin, but a faithful servant of the second Queen, and the tutor of her two sons, was shortly after this shot dead near the Queen's palace; by whose orders is doubtful, but the result was a frightful massacre, which lasted for three days. Upwards of seventy chiefs were killed, and among these the minister, Futty Jung Chountra. At the termination of this, the Rajah fled to Nepaul; the ex-King seeking safety at Benares, which his equally cruel and

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mad ancestor, Run Bahadur, had done nearly fifty years before.

The successes of the British army in the Punjaub, and the total overthrow of the Gwalior government following upon the retributory war in Affghanistan, the Nepaulese have become completely satisfied of our invincibility, and now endeavour to draw close the bonds of amity subsisting between the British and Khatmandoo Courts. In furtherance of this object, a mission was two years since dispatched to England, whose visit was of a sufficiently interesting character to render it worthy of a separate chapter. In justice, however, to the present sovereign, it should be stated that he is not pugnaciously inclined. His name and title are Maharaja Girivan Juddha Bickram Sah. When I had the honour of making his acquaintance, he was heir apparent to the throne.

He is now in his twenty-fifth year; his features good, nose aquiline, with nothing of the Goorkha cast of countenance. His mother



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and grandmother, being both natives of the plains, doubtlessly vastly improved the *nasal* organ of the Royal house of Nepaul. As Prince Regent, the King gave loose to a very violent temper, but many of these displays doubtless arose from the character of his father, who, being dead, may now have left him without motive for his irritability.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE NEPAULESE MISSION TO ENGLAND.

TOWARDS the middle of the gay London season of 1850, when an unexampled amount of rank, fashion, and wealth, was on the full tide of enjoyment; intelligence arrived from India that an ambassador from Nepaul might shortly be expected, covered with "barbaric pearl and gold," and bearing costly presents for Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.

As London was, at the moment, strange to say, without a *lion* of any kind, this news created prodigious excitement. It was not, however, for any length of time the herald

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of the mission. Thanks to the velocity of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer, a fortnight after the ambassador and suite arrived at Southampton, fulfilling, by the brilliancy of their appearance, the most ardent expectations of the curious. Few cared to inquire—and, indeed, inquiry would have been fruitless—into the real (political) objects of their mission. It was sufficient that their costume was splendidly martial, their bearing gallant, their liberality profuse, and their diamonds and pearls undeniable.

The members of the mission were, His Excellency General Jung Bahadoor Koorman Ranagee, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the kingdom of Nepaul; Colonel Juggut Shumshere Koorman Ranagee, and Colonel Dheer Shumshere Koorman Ranagee, brothers of the general; Captain Rummihir Sing Adhikaree Kajee Kurbeer Khutree, Captain Hemdul Sing Thappa, Lieutenant Kurbeer Kutree, Lieutenant Lall Sing Khutree, and Lieutenant Bhem Sing Rana. They had been

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mostly promoted since 1843, with the exception of Kurbeer Khutree, a well-tried political emissary to the Emperor of China, who has travelled the overland route from Nepaul to Pekin oftener than any subject living of Nepaul. The chief of the mission was a Thappa, and the nephew of the late General Matabar Sing, who, for a short time also was Commander-in-Chief of the Goorkha forces, and whose fate is described in the foregoing chapter.

General Jung Bahadoor, was about twenty-eight years of age, active, shrewd, and intelligent, well inclined to associate with, and adopt many English customs, a good shot, and first-rate sportsman, faithfully attached to his sovereign, and there is little he would not do to serve him.

He had witnessed some strange doings at his court, and the downfall during the late King's reign of five successive ministries. I well remember his uncle, Matabar Sing, remarking one day, that he found he had been

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rapidly ascending a ladder, and now discovered he had the very unpleasant duty to perform, of going down the other side. He added, that he should indeed consider himself highly favoured, if allowed to take his time in the descent, instead of illustrating the *facilis descensus*, by taking one step from the top to the bottom.

The other members of the mission held different appointments under the several ministries, and the Kajee (then Sirdar), Delhi Sing, was the head of the elephant-catching department, and a very intelligent active performer he proved himself to be. He is also a very faithful servant of the state, for I fancy there is nothing he would not do at his sovereign's bidding. Lieutenant Lall Sing was adjutant of the "Hemdhull" Goorkha regiment, a very sharp, intelligent man. He was for some months on duty at the British Residency as Soubadar, when the Chountra ministry were in power. He has likewise witnessed the glorious uncertainty attending

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the privilege of wearing one's head in the kingdom of Nepaul. The other members of the mission were good specimens of the Nepaul nobility.

One of them, Captain Kajee Kurbeer Khutree, filled a place in a former mission in India, which did not prove either lucrative to himself, or satisfactory to his sovereign.

Accompanying the mission was an officer of the Bengal army, Captain Cavanagh, in what is called "political charge," though the object of such denominations has since been satisfactorily ascertained. There was also an interpreter, a Mr. D. Macleod, who had at one time been a pleader in the Calcutta Courts, and afterwards a deputy collector and magistrate in the uncovenanted service of the East India Company.

The mission arriving in England at the time of Her Majesty's *accouchement*, could not be immediately received at Court. It was soon, however, understood that the ambassador was properly accredited, and that nothing was

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requisite but the ordinary formalities to give him his proper place. This was enough for the British aristocracy. The plain "General" was immediately elevated to the titular distinction of "Prince," and the dignity conferred by common consent on his stolid, Tartar-looking brothers. Invitations from every "distinguished" host or hostess rained upon them, and the mission in their turn commenced, upon a large scale, playing patron to every public place of amusement.

"His Excellency" figured daily in the "Morning Post" as the guest at some remarkable *soirée*, or the visitor of some theatre or al fresco fête. The East India Company invited the General and suite to be present at a public dinner, refreshments being served up to them in a separate room.

The Peninsular and Oriental Company, in one of whose fine steamers they had come to England at a charge of £5,000, gave them a ball. The Artillery at Woolwich, the Guards in the park, were reviewed before them, and the military

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authorities *(risum teneatis)* coveted their critical applause! Managers of public places of recreation held out their coming as baits to the populace, and the baits *took*, though the Princes did not always *go*. The Press, aroused at the excitement the "illustrious strangers" produced, devoted articles to brief (and erroneous) descriptions of Nepaul, circulated a variety of absurd, apocryphal anecdotes, or wrote lively satires of their appearance. The following are some of the best descriptive papers:

From the "Atlas."

"When the season waxed, and grew middle-aged, and when concerts, exhibitions, operas, fêtes, and balls were in their full swing and most sparkling height, one of the gallant boats of the Peninsular Steam Company crossed the Bay of Biscay, and landed upon English ground the Princes of Nepaul. They came, they were seen, and forthwith they conquered. We have said that they arrived in a steam-boat. To look at the lustre of their retinue, to count the

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diamonds which sparkled on their brown skins, to mark the gemmed turbans, the jewelled aigrets, the white bird of Paradise plumes—who would not have been forgiven for believing that the whole party might be an incarnation from the "Arabian Nights," whisked thither in an hour from Bagdad or a city of Cathay, attended by the Fairy Pari Banou, with Solomon's seal in their carpet-bags, and journeying with passports covered with hieroglyphics and stars, the genuine autographs of the King of the Genii? Coming in this guise, lavishing diamonds and gold, enshrined in a halo of oriental mystery, the Nepaul Embassy became at once the talk of the town.

"Wonderful rumours of his prowess as a warrior, and an intrigant of the ambassador, were buzzed about in the salons, the clubs, and the gossipy alleys of the operas. Did he commonly bow-string his footmen and drown his wives in a bag? One likes to see, quietly listening to "Norma," or driving through Piccadilly, a swarthy gentleman, whose every-day

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practice it is, in his own country, when freed from the conventional restraints of what we call society, to cut off the blundering head of Selim with a scimitar, or with oriental gravity and decorum to introduce the frail and flirting Fatima to the recesses of a clean rice sack, and thence to the muddy bottom of an eastern stream, very slow and very deep.

"Impressed with such notions, vast admirers of jewellery, great favourers of interesting foreigners, and inordinate worshippers of Princes, all the world looked with applauding eyes upon him of Nepaul. He was fêted, courted — perhaps a little bit toadied—and maintained his rank as the very greatest curiosity, until—alas! for human stability—a ship of the same line which introduced the brown and illustrious stranger to our shores, made its appearance with a still rarer, at all events a still newer, object of curiosity; and according one bright, summer morning, in utter defiance of all natural history, the Hippopo-

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tamus of the banks of the Nile became the Lion of the banks of the Thames!"

The "Indian News" wrote:

"Our Nepaulese guests have abundantly partaken of the national hospitality. They have been lionized in public and private. Armies have been paraded before them, and royalty itself has been their *cicerone*. No evening party having the slightest pretensions to the aristocracy of either rank, wealth, or talent, is held to be complete without their presence. And this is as it should be. They visited our shores *dona ferentes;* they have spent their money among us with a liberality amounting to profusion, and they have received our hospitalities with a full appreciation of the spirit in which they have been offered. All this, we repeat, is as it should be; but the moral constitution of an Englishman is peculiar, and, it would seem, as much subject to the influences of climate as his natural one. Let him but round the Cape, or traverse the

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Desert, and the atmosphere of India produces a singular revolution in his opinions on questions of colour, individuals of the caste and complexion of those fêted Nepaulese being regarded, not merely with indifference but with contempt.

"True it is, the English officer and civilian undergoes a process of *colouring* as gradual, but as complete, as that of the bowl of a *meerschaum;* brown supervenes upon yellow, and bronze upon brown, until, as in some specimens we have seen, to 'such complexion does he come at last,' that an ayah might as reasonably hope to be accounted one of the fair sex, as he to establish his European origin on the *prima facie* evidence of his countenance. And yet he cannot endure a taint of the tawny in a native.

"We have adverted to this subject for the purpose of exhibiting the inconsistency and folly of the prejudice prevailing in India, on the part of the white, against the coloured, population. We have, on former occasions, en-

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deavoured to show the ill effects of this feeling, as evinced by the European, towards the native, officers; who being thus shut out from the sympathies of their superiors, are thrown back upon those of the private soldier, to the great detriment of the discipline and efficiency of the army. We hope, indeed we believe, that more enlightened opinions are gaining ground in India, and that, as the intellectual powers of the natives become developed, a better order of things will obtain."

Describing the visit of the Embassy to Woolwich, the correspondent of one of the provincial papers said:

"They appeared to be particularly struck by the machinery of the carriage department. The drawing out of masses of iron into bars, by the passing of them several times between cylinders, also appeared to rivet their attention. An explosion during this operation, arising from we know not what cause, startled a few of the ladies who were present, and scattered the particles of red-hot iron in all directions.

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The laboratory, especially, was inspected by the Ambassador with great minuteness; the making and filling of percussion caps, and the manufacture of bullets, not by casting, but pressure—and all by machinery—were also exhibited and explained to them. The elder brother appeared to look at every thing with a professional eye, and as if nothing was lost upon him. An occasional ejaculation sufficiently manifested the wonder which many of the objects presented to him excited in his mind, but his manner throughout — and the remark applies in a greater or less degree to his brothers and their suite—was calm, subdued, and dignified."

From these general accounts of the movements of the members of the mission, the Press went into particulars, and the General Jung Bahadoor himself, was specially the object of homage and of falsehood. His portrait appeared in the "Illustrated News," accompanied by an account of his having ridden a horse up the lofty granary at Patna—a feat often achieved by English horsemen,

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Quadrilles and polkas were published, with portraits of the "Prince" as frontispieces, and the whole was capped by a long letter in the "Times," (from Calcutta).

On the recovery of Her Majesty, a court and drawing-room were held at St James', at which General Jung Bahadoor delivered his credentials, and was kindly received. An invitation to the palace followed.

The following anecdotes regarding the Nepaulese Minister appeared lately in a popular periodical, and may be accepted as genuine.

Jung Bahadoor was (is?) one of the most remarkable men of the day. His vault into the saddle of Commander-in-chief and Prime Minister of Nepaul, though not unmarked by bloodshed, was strong evidence of his daring and resolute spirit. He had risen to a sufficiently distinguished position in the Nepaulese army to become an object of apprehension to the feeble and treacherous Court. His death by violence was resolved upon, and orders given to the executioner. A slave-girl who had, at

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one time, enjoyed the love of the hardy mountaineer heard of their intentions. Her affection and solicitude revived. She flew to him immediately, communicated all she knew, and bade him be on his guard. Swearing her to the truth of her allegations and enjoining her silence, Jung Bahadoor at once summoned his brothers (the men who accompanied him to England), revealed to them the state of affairs, and being assured of their sympathy and their determination to fall in his defence, he commanded them to load their rifles, gird on their swords, and accompany him to the palace. They obeyed. In a few minutes they were on their way to the royal residence. The king was in durbar (council), and the prime minister, the instigator of Jung Bahadoor's destruction, sat upon his right hand. Arrived at the palace stairs, Jung Bahadoor and his brothers were challenged by the sentinel. One flourish of the sabre, and the sentinel's head rolled on the floor. Higher up the steps they were again challenged — the second party shared the fate of the first.



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Entering the hall of audience, the enraged youth advanced to the foot of the throne, and holding out the order for execution, of which he had obtained possession, asked the minister if that was not his handwriting and the King's sign manual? Before a reply could be given, Jung Bahadoor levelled his rifle at the minister and shot him dead. He then seized the body and flung it out of the window. A tumult arose. "What!" exclaimed Jung Bahadoor; "is it worth while making all this noise for a dead body?" Seeing the panic-stricken state of the King, Jung Bahadoor presented a warrant for his own appointment to the office of prime minister and commander-in-chief, which the King was but too ready to sign.

This *coup d'état*, alarming, as it did, the rest of the Court, insured for the new minister a tranquil existence and possession of office; but at length the adherents of the previous minister and his own partisans began to murmur: the former taking courage from the discontent of the latter, who had not reaped the

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full extent of the reward they anticipated. This rendered the minister's life irksome to him, and he cast about for some excuse to leave the kingdom temporarily. A visit to England as ambassador was suggested to him. He caught at the idea with avidity. The King gladly adopted it, for the presence of a minister who had thrust himself into service, was anything but agreeable.

The arrangements of Jung Bahadoor for his reception at the court of Queen Victoria, were characteristic of his good taste and originality. "Of what avail is it," said he, "to carry wealth to the wealthiest of potentates? Better far to lay at her feet what money cannot purchase." In this spirit he called around him the principal mountain chiefs, and apprising them of his contemplated departure, asked of each, one of the weapons of war most valued by their family, and which had descended as an heir-loom from the most renowned and war-like of their ancestors. His request was acceded to with promptitude. And these were the presents



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which accompanied his credentials. He had rightly judged the character of the Queen of England. The simplicity and peculiarity of the gifts imparted to all a rare value.

At the Court of Great Britain, Jung Bahadoor was as much admired for the *naïveté* of his replies as for the brilliancy of his costume. "What strikes your Highness as most extraordinary in this country?" asked one of the ministers of the Nepaulese Vakeel. "It is," replied he, "the sight of the first lady of the land standing for several hours to receive the homage of the humblest of her subjects."

This spectacle especially excited his wonder and admiration, but scarcely inferior to these emotions was the astonishment produced by the police, which he called '*Polis!*' How a body of armed men, quiet and unobtrusive in their manner, possessing no external marks of personal fierceness or official authority, could preserve the peace in such an immense metropolis, he could not understand. For the first few days the crowded streets, and the

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impromptu *cortèges* of the embassy, disturbed the nerves of the Envoy's party, but they were soon reassured by the steady guardianship of the police.

As another proof of the graceful nature of his replies, may be instanced his remark on being introduced to Lord Gough. "What is meant by Jung Bahadoor?" asked the hero of Chillianwallah and Guzerat.

"The mighty in war, my lord," was the reply of the interpreter.

"And a very good name, too, for a brave man like his Highness!" observed Lord Gough.

"Tell the General," said the Nepaulese chieftain, "that my name is the result of the accident of birth—it is my *nuseeb*. His lordship is the true Jung Bahadoor, for he has *earned* the title."

An instance of the decision of the envoy's character occurs to us. He was very fond of horses, and especially of those of high action. One morning he paid a visit to the stables of a well known dealer in Piccadilly. The ap-

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pearance of a horse struck him. He asked the price, and was told 300 guineas. "Let me see if he can leap," said Jung Bahadoor. The dealer answered that he was a Park horse, and had not been trained to leaping. Without further ceremony, the Nepaulese took off his watch, neck-chain and girdle, his turban and his sword, and commanded one of his aides-de-camp (a brother) to hold a drawn sword several feet from the ground, as he proposed to take the horse over it. The dealer stood aghast. The horse would assuredly break his knees; he had never tried a leap; failure was inevitable. Jung Bahadoor insisted, putting a stop to all remonstrances by the princely assurance that he would pay for the horse if he was injured. He then mounted the animal, rode him once up the "ride," and then took the leap with the greatest ease. The dealer now raised his price. He asked 400 guineas—he had no idea the horse had it in him—he could not think of parting with such a treasure for the original sum! "Tell him," said the gallant Nepaulese to his

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interpreter, while he resumed his watch, turban, &c., "I am now going out of his yard. If he will take 200 guineas I will pay him at once. If he does not decide before I visit yonder posts I will reduce the offer to 150 guineas. If he is undetermined when I get to the gate I shall only offer 125; and if he allows me to get into my carriage without closing the bargain I shall only give him 100 guineas." The dealer protested—entreated—argued—following the envoy the while. Jung Bahadoor reached his carriage, sprang in—the dealer consented to take the one hundred guineas! Jung Bahadoor gave him one hundred and twenty five.

At a bargain the envoy displayed all the huckstering qualities of his countrymen, but he was by no means destitute of generosity. Labouring under the consequences of a dissipation to which mountaineers are unaccustomed, Jung Bahadoor found it necessary to consult Sir Benjamin Brodie. Under the hands of that skilful practitioner, the envoy soon recovered, and upon

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the occasion of Sir Benjamin Brodie's last visit he placed upon the table a bag containing 500 sovereigns, telling him that was his fee. Sir Benjamin, with characteristic delicacy, refused it. The envoy pressed it, and even became warm under Sir Benjamin's persevering repugnance to accept a sum so much in excess of professional usage. At length Sir Benjamin yielded so far as to take one hundred guineas, rather than offend the envoy; but how did he accommodate even this sum to his nice conscience? He immediately purchased a beautiful set of surgical instruments, which could not have cost less than seventy-five guineas, and sent it with his compliments to Jung Bahadoor, thus retaining but twenty-five guineas for his services. Such anecdotes are creditable to both parties.

In all athletic and other manly sports Jung Bahadoor was a proficient. At Angelo's fencing rooms he eclipsed some of the finest swordsmen, and one of his *suite*, an excellent wrestler, trying a fall with a crack hand, threw

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him successively with great violence. Jung Bahadoor immediately gave the discomfited party a handful of gold.

As a marksman he was unrivalled. He had a practice, both in London and in Paris, of going about in plain clothes with his secretary. Thus attired, he looked like a Spaniard or South American. On one occasion, disguised in this way, he went into a shooting gallery in Paris, and deeming himself a match for the men who were there firing at a mark, he placed a rouleau of Napoleons upon the top of the target, and challenged any one to compete with him. The challenge was accepted; but the Frenchmen soon found that he was more than a match for the best of them. At each shot a Napoleon or more was dislodged, while the rouleau of Jung Bahadoor's antagonist remained untouched.

One more incident, and enough will have been said to demonstrate that the "Lion of 1850" was no common man. When accounts were being settled between the envoy and the



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French tradespeople, one of the *suite* demurred to a charge for five francs, which he protested was unjust. Jung Bahadoor, who had a horror of being "done," upheld his follower in his resistance to the demand. The suitor resorted to the law, and when Jung Bahadoor was on the point of departing, the progress of his carriage and horses was impeded by the instruments of the French police. He sprang from his carriage, drew his sword, threatened to cut down whomsoever opposed his progress. Then rushing to the embassy, he called upon Lord Normanby to interfere, and proceeded *en route*. Arrived at Marseilles he learnt to his great vexation that, after all, his follower had paid the money. Indignant that he should have been exposed to annoyance for so small a matter, he called the officer before him. "Now," said he, "you have subjected me to a painful humiliation. I sentence you to pay a fine of 200 rupees (£20.)" "Alas, your excellency, I have not one rupee." "Come here, give me your sword." The follower

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obeyed. Tearing off the sword-knot of bullion, "There," said the envoy, "that, when melted down will yield the money. Go!"

Such was the mountain chief, who, during his stay in England, was followed for his glittering costume and supposed wealth. Sufficient of his history was known to obtain for him the reputation of great hardihood, but few persons were aware that in the breast of this untutored Nepaulese, there beat a heart attuned to the finest impulses, and a taste which needed no cultivation to help its possessor to appreciate the talents most palatable to our artificial community. When asked by her Majesty why he liked the singing of Grisi, whose language he did not comprehend, he promptly replied: "We hear the bulbul, and we enjoy its notes. Do we understand what its song sayeth?"

The determined manner in which Jung Bahadoor put down the conspiracy to destroy him on his return to Nepaul, and the signal vengeance which he took upon the officer who accompanied

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him to England, and scandalized him in India, we shall have occasion hereafter to mention.

The embassy now prepared to return to India. Previous, however, to their embarkation, a visit to the provinces, to Scotland and France was resolved upon, and performed. The only circumstance which seemed to embarrass the officers of the mission, was the cooking their food and the performance of their necessary ablutions. Every pains were taken in England to meet their prejudices in these respects, but the occasional failure to suit the emergency was productive of amazing occurrences. The following anecdote is from a Lancaster paper:

"The Nepaulese Ambassador and suite passed through Lancaster on Wednesday last, by the morning down mail, *en route* for Glasgow. Whilst the train was stopping at the Castle station, an incident occurred which exhibited a characteristic of the religion of these Oriental visitors. His highness being thirsty the interpreter inquired for some water, and, in the emergency, one of the porters

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hastily procured it in one of the men's coffee cans. This not being accepted, and the porter supposing the vessel was too plebeian for his highness to use, a clean tumbler glass, containing the pure element, was tendered, but also solemnly rejected. In this dilemma his Highness or Magnificence, as the splendour of his costume would warrant his being styled, caught sight of the stand-pipe and hose by which the engines are supplied with water, and supposing it to be a spring, endeavoured to find where he could dip in his own drinking-cup, and procure water unpolluted by contact with any vessel in Christian use. The whole party curiously examined the water-pipe, but of course could make nothing of it, and returned to the train with his Highness's want unsatisfied."

After the minister had left England, the annexed letter appeared in the "Times."

Calcutta, April 7.

"The visit of the Nepaul minister will be, I imagine, the most remarkable one you have received this century.

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"Rammohun Roy was a clever, quiet, intellectual Bengalee Hindoo gentleman, who, I believe, turned Unitarian, and died in England. Dwarkanâth Tagore, whom the good folks at home appeared to think a very great man, was a humbug; in fact, he was *rich* only, or thought to be so. The Pasha of Egypt, was comparatively next door to you, and a Mahommedan; but our "Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Nepaulese," fresh from his mountains, is a genuine and most strict Hindoo. A nobleman of the Rajpoot caste, and the Goorkha tribe, the most valiant, and now nearly sole independent of the native states.

"As he will probably remain in England two or three months, you may perhaps see, and will I am sure be interested by him. He is thirty-two years of age only, rather slight in figure, but neatly formed; strong, firm, and agile as a hart; forming a strong contrast with his two stout, or rather fat, brothers who accompany him. His features are of the Tartar caste. He appears to have great physical courage.

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"On his way down to Calcutta in the steamer, passing through the jungly shores of the Soonderbunds, some object of game exciting his attention, regardless of tigers and alligators, and to the great alarm of his followers, he jumped overboard into the water or mud, but returned equally safe and unsuccessful.

"I have said nothing of his history in my letters to our sisters; it might horrify their feminine, and startle your European feelings, but will add to the romantic interest of your visitor. He is, or rather was, nephew to the late Prime Minister of Nepaul, Matabar Sing, who, with his regiment of Goorkhas, visited Calcutta some few years back. About four years ago, this young man (Jung Bahadoor) discovered that his uncle, the minister, had conspired against the lives of himself and brothers, for what reason I know not; whereupon, slinging his double-barrelled rifle over his shoulder, he proceeded to the Durbar council and (council-room), confronted the minister, and charged him with the intent.

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The latter hesitated, and they speedily came to hot words, when our hero, unslinging his gun, shot the said minister dead upon the spot.

"A bloody fray then ensued between the Durbaree people and Sree Jung and his brothers (he has some six or seven), who were with him. The former were nearly all cut to pieces. Sree Jung, with the loss of one brother killed in the fray, was victorious; and immediately, all bloody as he was, his gun upon his shoulder, hastened to the King, told his own story, declared it was in self-preservation, and demanded the royal sentence at once.

"The monarch, however, thinking it better to conciliate such a spirit, told him in reply, that he had no doubt the slain minister had been in the wrong and he in the right, on which, "staying no further question," he hurried back to the Durbar, and immediately proclaimed himself Prime Minister.

"Now I certainly did not receive this story from his own lips, but from those of a gentle-

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man who came down with him in the steamer. I believe it, however, to be perfectly correct. Of course, in giving you this anecdote, I should be sorry if the spirit of

"'———— our fiercer Orientalism
Should somewhat shock your western sentimentalism,'

"I should be sorry, that is, to prejudice his reception amongst any who, ignorant of the elements of Asiatic character, of Asiatic education, mind, morals, doctrines and opinions, might regard him as a sort of George Barnwell or ordinary cut-throat. On the contrary, his manners, his abilities, his tact, and energy have alike confirmed him in the good-will of the Nepaulese army and people; and I look upon his visit to England as one of the many gradual but sure measures and steps by which the Almighty is paving Asia with civilization.

"His power as minister is unbounded (over life and death), and is indeed greater than that of his sovereign. I suspect that, like Macbeth, 'he shall be king hereafter.' The present one

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(whom, in point of fact, Sree Jung placed on the throne) is nothing, or little more than a boy, and a puppet. Intelligent, energetic, high spirited, ambitious, inquisitive, and politic; knowing that the Company's charter is nearly out, and observing that our conquests are extending right and left, he probably thinks it well to conciliate the Queen of England on her throne.

"His visit, therefore (of which no one knows the precise object), may probably arise from mixed feelings and motives of policy, ambition, curiosity, and a love of show and adventure. He gave me to understand that his leaving Nepaul on this mission was much opposed, and that he had to steal away, as it were, to effect it.

"It is to be hoped that you English will not kill him with balls, routs, late hours, coughs and colds. Cold, however, is his element. Were he not to return safe, his brothers and attendants would not dare, I am told, to return to Nepaul.

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"Previous to the return of the troops which had escorted him here, I witnessed his leave-taking. First, the officers, after each receiving either pay or a present of money (which he and his brothers touched) stood in front, and one by one addressed him. He replied, and after some reluctance, as it appeared to me, and many repeated salams, withdrew. They had of course spoken in Goorkha, but on their leaving he turned and explained to me in Hindostanee the purport of their address.

"'They say it is putting shame upon them that they have to return to Nepaul without me, that they brought me in safety here, and it is equally their duty and their desire to take me back in safety,' so I told them, 'It is well—on my return from England you can do so; come down again to Calcutta, and take me back to Nepaul. They can't understand,' said he, (speaking generally), 'why I should take all this trouble and expense; leaving my country and my friends. See how great an outlay I am submitting to, so many lacs (a lac is a hundred

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thousand rupees, or ten thousand pounds) expended here, and for the ship; so many more will go in England, and so many more on my return; and my pay of course goes to another (my brother) during my absence.'

"In reference to his companions, he added that he had reduced the rank or pay of all during his absence; that those who were colonels (his two brothers) he had made captains, and those who were captains, lieutenants, and so forth. I replied, that I hoped his visit to England would prove not only for his own pleasure, but for the good of his country.

"The sound of a bugle now announced the troops to be ready to salute him; so he stepped into the verandah overlooking the garden, on the broad path of which a long line of bright and terrible bayonets (shaped like the Kookree, or Nepaulese dagger knife—a very handsome carved weapon) glittered in the sun. After he had addressed a few words to the men, the line saluted twice, and were then (half of them with their faces towards him) ordered to march.

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One or two companies, however, at the end nearest to him, appeared unwilling to move, and while they stood, men from the ranks addressed him. He stopped them, however, by reminding them that it was not customary to address their officers with arms in their hands, and again ordered them to move, which they did with evident regret; those about me declaring that some were 'rota-hy,' *i. e.* crying. He is certainly very much liked by them all.

"As they marched through the garden, the band played (and played well too) English martial tunes; but on getting outside of the gate they struck off into one of their own wild and peculiar mountain airs. He has been picking up a little English, and to my great gratification, told me what he had learned. I corrected the sentences for him, and he repeated the alterations till he was perfect; after which he asked me to teach him others, carefully inquiring and noting the difference in addressing equals, inferiors and superiors. Two of his

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attendant officers speak English—one of them very well indeed."

In Paris the enthusiasm of the populace, as represented by the press, was not inferior to that of our own John Bull. Everything the General and his followers did was faithfully noted in the journals of the day. Annexed are a few extracts from the articles which appeared:

"The ambassador is accompanied by his two brothers, and has a suite of twenty persons. He is only twenty-six years of age, but he is already a distinguished general, and is considered one of the most intelligent men of his country. He appreciates the diplomatic attentions that he has received here, but expresses an earnest desire to see the President of the Republic before his departure, which is at present fixed for the 29th instant. In his own language he said, 'When will the sovereign President return?' and his interpreter replied that it would be possible for him to be presented to the President before his departure. He then

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said, 'It is well, for my nation and myself have a great veneration for the name of the Emperor, whose courage and exploits we admire.'

"General Changarnier and his suite has paid him a visit, as also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and he was much flattered at this mark of attention by the government. The Turkish Ambassador had previously called upon him. It is difficult, however, to make the Ambassador comprehend that France is a republic, and cannot offer him the same splendid *fêtes* as Queen Victoria when he was in London. The Ambassador and his suite have expressed a wish to conform as much as possible in Europe to the religious usages of India, which require that the Princes should themselves immolate the animals destined for their food, but they have experienced great obstacles. It has been erroneously stated in the journals that the animals are slaughtered daily in the yard of the Hôtel Sinet. It is true that the Prefect of Police has given permission for this to be done but neither Paris nor the *banlieue* have furnished

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the kind of animals fit for immolation according to the prescriptions of the Indian religion. The Ambassador asked for a fat male deer, of from one to three years old, but could not obtain it. Several females were brought but these would not do. As yet neither he nor his suite have killed any animal.

"Their mode of living is very singular. There must be as many rooms as there are persons, for each must eat alone. As yet their only animal food in Paris has been a little game. Their principal food is fish and vegetables. On the return of the President of the Republic, he will offer a grand *fête* to the Ambassador, if he can postpone his departure."

* * * * *

"The Nepaulese Ambassador and his suite of twelve persons, accompanied by Captain Fanshaw, their interpreter, visited the galleries and museum of the Louvre on Monday. What appeared to please them most was the gallery containing Chinese designs and uten ils. They asked many questions. Their gorgeous cos-

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tumes, pearls and diamonds, produced a picturesque effect in the galleries. M. de Nieuwerkerke, the director of the Louvre; M. de Vielcastel, the secretary; and other officers, accompanied them. The artists who were at work in the galleries suspended their labours to take a glance at the visitors. On leaving, the ambassador and his suite heartily thanked the officials and artists for their flattering reception. In the Hôtel Sinet, they lodge in apartments entirely separated from the rest of the hotel. They communicate with no one, and keep their curtains constantly closed."

* * * * *

"The Nepaulese Embassy have 'assisted' at a party given by Lord Normanby; and they had a somewhat narrow escape from the loss of some of their gorgeous and all-tantalizing jewellery. Of this incident the Paris correspondent of a daily cotemporary furnishes the following curious account, in connection with the discovery of a desperate and long organised band of robbe —'The captain of the troop,'



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says the writer, "who passed in society under the title of the Baron of Ardennes, is, it appears, a young man of good family, and has received an excellent education. He has been in the army, and has performed on the stage. He had for his mistress a beautiful young woman, who had been the wife of a captain in the merchant navy, but who quitted her husband and family to share the fortunes of the adventurous Baron. He and his mistress were only the other day present at the ballet of the *Violon du Diable*, in a box close to the one occupied by the Nepaulese Princes, and their idea was to deprive the distinguished strangers of the rich ornaments they wear in such profusion on their dress. That this was not done was merely owing to the accident of the director of the opera having offered his box to the Princes, which they accepted.'

"Since the above was in type, we learn from the Paris papers that the *Houri* 'Cerito' has achieved that which the bandit 'Baron' failed to accomplish! It appears that his Excellency,

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the susceptible Goorkha, chanced to see this captivating disciple of Terpsichore in the ballet now performing in Paris, called *Le Violon du Diable*, and having been admitted behind the scenes, beheld the lovely *danseuse* recumbent on a couch, and 'panting' (so say the reporters) after her graceful salutations. This entrancing spectacle was too much for the philosophy of the youthful Jung, and accordingly as a trivial earnest of his ecstacy, he transferred from his own sable wrists to the snowy ones of the charmer, a magnificent bracelet of brilliants."

After a short stay in Paris the mission proceeded to Marseilles where they embarked for Alexandria, *en route* to India.

Upon his arrival at Nepaul, Jung Bahadoor became the victim of much obloquy. Jealous of the exalted position and influence he had acquired, some people about the court conspired to displace him from the command of the army; and in the attempt to accomplish this



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end, they found a ready agent in one of the men who had accompanied him to England. This man trumped up a story that he had lost his caste by associating, eating and drinking with people of a low caste—*pariahs*, in fact—for such he regarded the English. Nothing could be more untrue.

Jung Bahadoor was a most rigid observer of the usages enjoined by his religion, never going anywhere unless arrangements could be made for his dining with his own suite, and in a retired and exclusive apartment. Denounced for his alleged violations of the practices of devout Brahmins, he took a signal vengeance on his calumniator. Assembling the troops on parade, he called the offender before him; and challenging him to an open accusation, the wretch fell on his knees, declared himself most unworthy, and entreated pardon. Jung Bahadoor turned upon him like a tiger, applied to him all the horrible epithets with which the Hindoo vocabulary abounds, and

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then commanding some soldiers to throw him to the ground, caused the most shocking indignities to be offered to his person.

This crushed the conspiracy; and from that time to the present, he has continued uninterruptedly in the possession of his office of Commander-in-Chief.

Of the real objects of the mission of the Nepaulese General to England, nothing is positively known though much has been conjectured. There is no doubt that the avowed purpose, that of merely strengthening the bonds of friendship between England and Nepaul, was very different from the real one, for there never was yet a Nepaulese mission without an *arrière pensée*— never a glittering parade without a concealed object. That Jung Bahadoor suggested the mission, is, we believe, pretty well understood, and that the gracious reception he experienced (of which, of course, the most inflated accounts were dispatched to Khatmandoo) have increased his personal importance, is equally beyond question; but how it will be, or has been, politically

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turned to account by the sovereign of Nepaul remains to be seen.

Nepaul certainly had got herself into bad odour with the government of India by her unfriendly intrigues with the governments of Lahore and Gwalior, during the period of our hostilities with those states—intrigues frustrated by Lord Ellenborough's vigilance and determination—and the Rajah might have supposed that a complimentary mission, laden with valuable presents would have smoothed the angry brow of Great Britain. Or it is possible that Jung Bahadoor contemplated using the embassy as a means of impressing her Chinese neighbour, upon whose territory she casts wistful eyes, with a belief in her influence at the court of England —and mayhap of France—and of holding that influence *in terrorem* over the heads of the celestials.

Peace has now subsisted between the Nepaulese and the British for about thirty-six years, and we see no chance of its being interrupted. The occupation of a mountainous

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region with no more than forty inhabitants to the square mile, would be no temptation to its conquest; and its military occupation would be simply the planting of an expensive garrison in it, which would not merely add to our strength, but absolutely weaken it by dispersing our force. Neither do we think the independence of the Nepaulese in any danger from the Chinese, who would by occupying the country only bring themselves into juxta-position with a power that they now understand but too well, and who, they must be well aware, would not brook the habitual insolence with which they treat weak neighbours.

The Nepaulese, however, situated as they are between two nations, both far too formidable to be resisted, may feel their position awkward and embarrassing; and the late mission may have originated in a desire to ascertain the power, resources, and Indian policy of the most formidable of them. When Hyder Ali was urged by his captains to invade and conquer the possessions of the English in the Carnatic, he

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used to say the power in sight was not much, and he had no fear of it, but that he dreaded the mysterious one out of sight, and of which he had no knowledge. The Nepaulese court, then, may be acting on the principle of desiring to ascertain the nature of the mysterious power that is out of sight in Hindustan, and which bewildered the ablest and most formidable of our Indian enemies.

But, as we have said above, all speculation upon the matter is vain and premature. Time alone can disclose the true purposes of the mission, and be they "wicked or charitable," England has the consolation of knowing that she is armed at all points, and has proved herself, in all her relations with Nepaul, an hospitable neighbour, an honest negociator, and a formidable enemy.

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## CHAPTER V.

### SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY.

ALTHOUGH the military life, so far as Nepaul is concerned, of Sir D. Ochterlony, is narrated in the foregoing pages, it would be a species of treason to the Indian army—for which I must always cherish a lively affection—were I not, in this place, to offer a memoir of one who was generally regarded by the sepoys as their father and friend. A history of Nepaul, without a special biography of Ochterlony, would be like "Hamlet," without the Prince of Denmark. I shall endeavour, therefore, to sketch the biography of "Lony Ochter," as the sepoys by



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an inexplicable transposition called him; omitting all such matters as have already been detailed.

David Ochterlony, the son of an emigrant merchant, was born at Boston, in North America. His father was a cadet of the family of Pitforthy, formerly styled of Ochterlony, which had possessed lands in the counties of Forfar and Aberdeen for upwards of two centuries.

The mother of the future General was an American lady of the name of Tyler. After the death of her first husband, which, occurring suddenly, caused derangement in his affairs, she married Sir Isaac Heard, the late Garter King-at-Arms. Young Ochterlony, left nearly destitute when about ten years of age, found an affectionate reception from his uncle, the Laird of Pitforthy, who put him to school in Scotland, where, along with the early part of his education, he imbibed the national feelings of a Scotsman, and continued to cherish them through life. This filial attachment to

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home, however, I beg to observe, does not, as some Englishmen suppose, involve prejudice against other countries.

On attaining his seventeenth year, the subject of this sketch went to reside with his mother in London; and whilst prosecuting his classical and mathematical studies, took lessons, at the request of the Garter King, who wished to provide for him, in the Herald's Office. The pupil, though lastingly grateful for the kindness of his step-father, could never give his mind to the art and mystery of blazoning coats of arms. Meanwhile, Lachlan Maclean, distinguished in his day, it is said, for great abilities and lax morals, who a few years since obtained a place among the many putative authors of "Junius' Letters," opportunely offered his patronage in another line to the backward student of heraldry. Maclean, when a military surgeon in America, had contracted a debt to the elder Ochterlony, which remained unpaid; and having become Under Secretary of State, and First Commissioner for the affairs of the Nuwab of the

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Carnatic, now showed himself willing to acknowledge an obligation which it was still inconvenient to discharge, by placing the son of his creditor in the service of the above Prince at Madras.

Mr. Ochterlony, readily accepting the offer, was taken for a short time into the Commissioner's Office, to learn the forms of Indian business. On being presented with a Bengal cadetship, merely to distinguish him from an interloper, he sailed for India towards the end of 1777. Mr. Maclean, who had himself proceeded to the same quarter eight or ten months before, in returning met his young friend at the Cape, and furnishing him with recommendatory letters to the Nuwab and the influential men about his person, was lost in a ship called the 'Swallow,' which foundered in the remaining part of her voyage to England. A Chief Justice, who happened to be his fellow-passenger, accommodated the cadet on landing in the East; but falling in with another young officer (afterwards the Honourable Sir

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Thomas Maitland), they visited some place of public resort of that time, which was probably not so respectable as the modern clubs and hotels at the Indian presidencies, since it is certain that the destined conqueror of Nepaul there had his pocket picked of the letters which the commissioner had written to get him established, until he should make his fortune, in peaceful employment.

In hopes of repairing this unforeseen misfortune, he dressed in his Company's uniform, and waited on a Mr. Ockley, one of the Secretaries to Government, who had the chief local management of Carnatic affairs. The youthful soldier never forgot the haughty insolence with which this man in office treated his expectations, and the explanations offered of the loss of his credentials. The Nuwab, he was told, had no use for his services. This, the General was wont to call the first, but by no means the last, insult to a red-coat, which he had to witness in India. The Secretary, a day or two afterwards, seeing him in the good company of

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the Chief Justice, and exhibiting considerable condescension to his late petitioner, met with a sharp and well-merited rebuff. Not yet aware of his patron's fate, Mr. Ochterlony took his departure, in full reliance of being soon recalled to Madras, by fresh letters from England, and proceeded to join the army in Bengal.

The troops under Fort William then consisted of two brigades. Detachments from each being ordered to join the army under Sir Eyre Coote and General Stewart on the coast, Lieutenant Ochterlony was appointed Adjutant and Quarter-Master to the first division of the force, commanded by Major Blane, in the end of 1780. He served in all the actions that followed with Hyder Ali and the French, during that protracted war. Succeeding, as senior officer present, to the command of a sepoy battalion, he occupied a position on the right of the trenches before Cuddalore in 1783, when the French made a sortie against the camp of the besiegers at night. They attacked in front; and at the same time turned

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the right of the British, when "a supporting line," posted by General Stewart, began to fire forward and brought down a number of Ochterlony's men. Before he could get this serious error rectified, the sepoys, believing the enemy to be on all sides of them, became impatient, but were prevailed on by their officers to retreat in a body, which they did with such impetuosity as to break through the ranks of the French; whom they encountered in the dark, and threw them into confusion and alarm. Lieutenant Ochterlony, however, was cut down and left on the field until a party of the enemy, supposing him from his grenadier epaulettes to be an officer of rank, carried him hastily into the fort. He continued a prisoner there, treated with great civility, till the conclusion of a peace. He was wounded on another occasion near Arnee, under circumstances somewhat singular. The night before an engagement with Hyder's troops, he dreamed that his mother gave him much earnest advice, and desired especially that he should look to

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his safety next morning. Laughing at a presentiment which he could not rid himself of, the young officer delivered over some valuables to a friend, and prepared to meet a soldier's doom.

Whilst leading his grenadiers to action, he was grazed by a rocket, which, carrying off the whole of his long-skirted coat from the shoulders downward, left a gash on his side; the mark of which went with him to the grave. The shock threw him to the ground; and his companions, feeling sure that the dreamer's foreboding was fulfilled, were agreeably surprised to find him alive amongst them after the affray. But although Ochterlony harboured no superstition, he always considered the coincidence remarkable between the dream and his mother's death, which he first heard of by the next subsequent arrival from England. The dates of the two events, however, did not exactly correspond.

Lieutenant Ochterlony's services on the coast were rewarded, on his return, with the appoint-

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ment of deputy Judge-Advocate-General at Dinapore.

He seems to have passed the years of inaction which followed, in the ordinary pleasures and amusements of young men in the Indian army. He retained ever afterwards a relish for nautches, and the performances of the singing men of India; which could be accounted for, in one of his general taste, only on the supposition that they awakened associations of the spring-time of life.

He never could reflect, he used to say, on his prominent part "in the Bengal mutiny," without incongruous feelings of horror and ridicule; Horror at the treachery of some of his professedly most zealous confederates and ridicule, at the pusillanimous dread which several honest supporters of the cause occasionally betrayed of losing the poor advantages of their degraded condition.

It is now happily almost forgotten that Company's military servants of every grade were, before that commotion, as much sub-

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ordinate to those of the royal army, as subadars and jemadars are at present to European officers. Respectful remonstrances met with neglect or reproof.

In answer to a renewed appeal on the subject, more than usually urgent, the Court of Directors not only refused to intercede for redress to the petitioners, but took occasion to enjoin their field-officers to set a soldier-like example to their juniors of submitting cheerfully to be commanded by His Majesty's subalterns. This led to the formation of committees at the principal stations, who, corresponding with one another and the local government, finally elected delegates to represent them in England. Ochterlony held the place of secretary to the Chunar Committee. Cautioned in vain by his considerate friends at the presidency, who, though they wished success to the mutiny, were too prudent to join in it, he soon received appalling proofs from them of the danger he was incurring. At one of the meetings, he read extracts from a document

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thence obtained, which had been circulated to members of council, giving a circumstantial account of whatever had been done or said by the mutineers about a month before, in the room where they had again assembled. Every one stared at his neighbour in dismay or dissimulation. The secretary moved a resolution that there must be a traitor and scoundrel on the committee, which was unanimously carried. But, independently of such occurrences in the business itself, Ochterlony by no means liked to talk of a proceeding so repugnant to habits of military discipline. Perhaps his reply to a joke, in earnest, of Lord Lake's on the subject, will best explain his settled opinion of it.

"How could you lend yourself to such a rascally affair as the 'Bengal Mutiny?'" asked his Lordship.

"Why," said the quondam secretary, "I knew we could not be worse; and as begging would not do, I thought we might gain some-

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thing by frightening the civil authorities of 1795; but we did not *mutiny*."

Few will now regret the event which, more than justifying and realizing his expectations, has placed the Company's on an equality with the Queen's army.

Ochterlony, when a Major, commanding the second battalion of the 12th regiment, first obtained the notice of the hero of Delhi and Laswarie, before the fort of Sasnee, which had been unsuccessfully attacked in January, 1803. He had communicated a plan for taking the place, to his friend Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard, then Adjutant-General, and was invited by the Commander-in-Chief to discuss it at dinner. The immediate consequence was a reconnaissance next morning, in which young Lake's horse was shot under him, and the Major received orders to carry his own plan into execution. He accordingly assaulted the Kuttra, or town attached to the fort, and met with little opposition then; but had to repel a vigorous

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sortie of the garrison next night. After he had thus taken and retained a commanding position, the enemy evacuated Sasnee, and retired, without waiting for his ulterior operations. On the subsequent capture of Bidgigurh, Major Ochterlony was appointed to the command of that fortress. Holding this situation when the Mahratta war broke out, he received a letter from Lord Lake, in his own hand-writing, inviting him to accept the office of deputy Adjutant-General, with the certain prospect of succeeding to the head of the department on the cessation of hostilities, when Gerard was resolved to retire.

Ochterlony served in this capacity at Allygurh and Delhi, which last battle, destroying the power of Scindia, at that time dominant in Upper India, and bringing the person of the nominal great Mogul under British protection, created the necessity of placing an able and energetic officer, to represent his country, in the ancient capital of the fallen monarch's family.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, whom Lord Lake selected for this important trust, was confirmed by the Marquis Wellesley in the appointment of Resident at Delhi.

The wisdom of their choice was soon afterwards illustrated in one of those exigencies of difficulty and danger, which test the fitness of men for high office and the exercise of power.

At a moment, when the balance between British and Mahratta predominance appeared still vibrating doubtfully in the mixed feeling and opinion of the natives, Holkar, in one of his lucid intervals, conceived that the possession of the city, whence Baber Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe had issued their mandates, and which their lineal descendant still inhabited, might turn the scale in favour of its captor. With this intent, masking his movement from Lord Lake, that chief marched with an immense force, which he expected would prove overwhelming, to besiege Delhi, in October, 1804. The functions of a Resident under

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such circumstances, resemble those of a Captain-General.

The senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, had command of the troops. The garrison for the defence of fortifications, seven miles in extent, comprising the whole circumference of the city, consisted of only two battalions of sepoys, a company of native artillery, and a corps of buckundazes, who had belonged to Scindia, and been lately entertained for local duties under the civil authority.

These irregulars openly mutinied, and one of the first acts of the Resident, during the siege, was to blow two of their ringleaders from a gun, by which the rest were brought to obedience.

His tact and vigilance were principally demanded from the commencement, in partly gaining the good-will, and partly restraining the enmity of one hundred thousand citizens; which he accomplished so successfully, that a considerable portion of them offered money or jewels, and others supplied food spontaneously,

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when treasure and provisions became scarce among the defenders. He accepted daily rations of sweetmeats from the confectioners, which, being gratuitously distributed, had, it was believed, the effect of contributing to reconcile the sepoys to unusual hardships.

The nobility and the neighbouring jageerdars, however, were not generally well affected to the British rule. The Resident managing to intercept their correspondence with Holkar, learned whom to distrust, though he took care not to drive them to the enemy's camp, by a premature disclosure of his having discovered their guilt. The noted Begum Sumroo, whom Lord Lake kissed after the battle of Delhi, in presence of a dinner-party, and reinstated in the lands allotted originally to the payment of her husband's brigade at Sirdanah, was among the delinquents detected in political coquetry with the besiegers. More than one of these offenders turning their backs on what they deemed a clouded and setting sun, lived to manifest base ingratitude to the man

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through whose means their treachery on that occasion was overlooked or pardoned.

Having won over, or neutralized the inhabitants, he enabled the garrison to conduct operations against the besieging hordes outside with steadiness, and even enterprise. A party, sallying out on one occasion, captured a Mahratta battery and spiked the guns. Two assaults, after breaches had been formed, the last under cover of tremendous cannonade, were completely repulsed by the fire of our sepoys from the ramparts. Holkar, disappointed of co-operation from within, and defeated in these attempts to enter the city by force, withdrew during the night, and entirely relinquished the siege. The Governor-General in Council, and the Court of Directors, both conveyed their thanks to the Resident in strong terms, for his share in the defence of Delhi.

In the face of this display, and recognition of superior ability for political employment, Sir George Barlow had scarcely succeeded to the



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office of Governor-General, when he superseded Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in the Residency, as a mere soldier, who could not be expected to understand certain civil duties which were to be attached to the situation. Thus rudely cast out of a department to which he had shown himself among the best qualified to belong, and appointed Commandant of the garrison of Allahabad; he held that sinecure from 1806 to 1809. He was then, without application or intercession, nominated by Lord Minto to command the force for the occupation of the Sikh states, which Mr. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe's treaty at that time brought under British protection.

The Lieutenant-Colonel, on the completion of the arrangements, became agent to the Governor-General, in charge of our political relations, as well as military commander at Loodianah, on the north-west frontier. He held these appointments until the Earl of Moira proclaimed war against Nepaul in 1814.

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The events connected with the campaign, consequent upon the proclamations, are detailed in the foregoing pages. The reader is aware that the final victory of Maloun speedily led to most important results. It compelled the fallen conqueror to surrender the mountain empire, which he had added to his country between Gogra and Sutlej, extending in its greatest breadth, from the plains of Plassia to the frontier of Tartary. He ceded all, on the single condition of his being escorted with his family and property to Nepaul.

Of the provinces thus relinquished by the Kadgi, Sirmoor, under the immediate government of his son Ranjore, had hitherto successfully resisted the British arms; and Kumaon in some places still held out, without having formally submitted, though Sir Jasper Nicolls had defeated Hasti Dat's army, and all who opposed him in the field.

The same battle, which made the most formidable army of Nepaul for ever powerless, broke, it is believed, a treacherous league



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among the Hindu nations, which, provided that, in the event of the Nepaulese prevailing in Hindu, as elsewhere, the Mahrattas were to invade the most exposed of our central territories, whilst Runjeet Sing with his Sikhs, who would have had nothing but a single regiment of cavalry to encounter between Lahore and Delhi, was to resume possession of the country, which Mr. (Lord) Metcalfe and Colonel Ochterlony had forced him to abandon in 1809. The ascendancy of these eminent individuals over that Prince, to whom both were well known, no doubt contributed mainly to make one equally sagacious and unprincipled forego an inviting opportunity of attempting to seize the person of the Great Mogul, where the civil functionary then held office, and with more disastrous effect, at the same time to cut off the General's communication with the plains, before success had crowned the efforts of the army at Maloun.

Ochterlony had already received the Commandery of the Bath for former services,

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when the Order was enlarged; and on intelligence of this campaign reaching England, he was created a Baronet, and the Court of Directors conferred a pension on him of £1000 a-year for life.*

The officers under him who commanded the brigade, reserve, and different columns of attack, were made Companions of the Bath.

The exultation of the victors at Maloun

* At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 6th of December, 1815, a Report from the Committee of Correspondence, dated this day, being read, it was resolved unanimously, in consideration of the eminent and most beneficial services rendered to the Company by Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., and K.C.B., in the war in the State of Nepaul (by which the honour of the British arms was upheld, and the enemy, after the capture of extensive provinces, important to them, were obliged to sue for peace, on terms favourable to the Company), a pension of £1000 per annum be granted to him, to commence from the date of the victory over the Nepaulese army, the 16th of April, 1815. The said grant being subject to the approbation of the Court of Directors.

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was repressed, after the completion of their triumph, by the death of the field-engineer. He, whose dauntless energy and scientific skill had guided this army through so many hostile defiles, did not live to wear the laurels which he had won with the acclamation of his brethren in arms. Having been exposed, during several months of unremitting assiduity, to extremes of temperature in the concentrated heats of ravines by day, and the frost of mountain tops at night, he allowed himself no rest until the action of the 15th placed ultimate success beyond doubt. It was then that he experienced the first attack of a lurking fever, which, in a few days, bore to his bloodless grave an officer of as much worth and promise as could distinguish one of subaltern rank. None could feel and lament his loss more poignantly than Sir David Ochterlony. Possessed of mind and acquirements that would have fitted him to exercise the highest functions of his profession, Lawtie had an ingenuous and unassuming manner, by which he was enabled to advise, without humiliating, seniors and offi-

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cial superiors. Through his intelligence and activity, the General was virtually present at every post of his scattered army, in the person of one who could give effect to the spirit of a commander's orders, under all varying circumstances.

The value of such a messenger and counsellor, can be appreciated by those only who know the defects of the India military system, which in many things is excellent. Where length of service alone raises to command, some in situations of importance must be naturally beneath mediocrity; while still more are incapable from age; and though the chief of an army may be chosen, the public interest rarely admits of his principal subordinates being selected also.

To record its sense of Lieutenant Lawtie's services, the army went into mourning, and subsequently erected a monument to his memory in the Cathedral of Calcutta, where it is now to be seen. His ashes rest under a mountain

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cairn, near Ruttungurh, like those of ancient warriors in the country of his ancestors.

The next prominent employment to which the government called Sir David Ochterlony, was in command of the Dinapore division of the army, destined to complete the subjection of the Goorkhas by moving against their capital.

Amongst other disadvantages to begin with, the Commander had little personal knowledge of most of his new staff.

The Quarter-Master-General, and head of the Intelligence Department, on whom so much depended in this peculiar warfare, was fortunately a man of great capacity and no less zeal; but, unhappily for himself, he had an overbearing sense of his superiority, which repelled and irritated the majority of those who ought to have acted cordially with him in the transaction of business.

I allude to the late Captain Joshua Pickersgill, who, after his death, obtained some literary notice as the juvenile author of a novel, called

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"The Three Brothers," which Byron has palpably borrowed from in one of his dramas. Pickersgill's mind, in mature years, amply fulfilling its early promise of uncommon vigour, retained few traces of the refining influence of literature. He had less of the attic Greek than of the modern Turk in his deportment; and, like the Sultan, his choice would have been to reign alone.

With the assistance of this able, however unamiable, officer, Sir David Ochterlony soon settled his preliminary movements. Brigadier Kelly, with the first brigade, moved on Bugwanpore; Brigadier Nichol, with the second brigade, on Ramnugurh; whilst the third and fourth brigades, including His Majesty's 87th regiment, remaining with the General, marched from Semulabassa on the 10th of February. At this place he entered the great *sàl* forest, which the Nepaulese used to consider an impenetrable boundary, which the Deeras had raised to protect their country from lowland invasion. It is a dreary and unwholesome wilderness,



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eleven miles in breadth, uninhabitable by any creature above an insect in the scale of being. The troops shouted for joy, when, emerging from the monotonous aspect and noxious shade of the tall trees, they breathed fresh air in the bed of the Bichacore river. A brick house, used as a traveller's *serai*, was immediately stockaded, and made one of the depôts between the head-quarters and Betrah, in the Terrai, where supplies were collected for the whole army.

Thus far, no difficulties had occurred. The work of Colonel Kirkpatrick gave a correct account of the frequented roads into Nepaul, over the Churraghati, or first range of hills; but these were now too strongly fortified and defended to be carried without a sacrifice of human life, which Ochterlony would have shuddered at, and reckoned evidence of deficiency in military science.

He accordingly sent forth his Quarter-Master-General, as he had often done his field-engineer, in the campaign of Hindur, to discover a way,

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where none was known to exist, by which the Goorkha posts might be turned, and an undefended passage found to the interior.

Pickersgill, stimulated by the magnitude of the object and the spirit of the enterprise in view, explored a succession of water-courses in the direction it was desired to proceed; and finding, after further research, hollow ravines, or the dry beds of former torrents that connected them, he ascertained the practicability of taking the force full two-thirds of the contemplated march; but was brought-to by precipices and thickets, in seeking a path over the last and most material of the ascending portion of the space to be traversed. Where his own eyes failed, however, his emissary's succeeded; and they got acquainted accidentally with a band of smugglers, who, for a handsome reward, showed the course taken by them across the Churraghati, to evade the payment of tolls; a route, it was averred, unknown to any servant of the Nepaul state.

On the announcement of this discovery,

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Brigadier Dick received instructions to advance by the travelled road, for the purpose of threatening, but not attacking, the enemy's fortifications on the pass. Sir David Ochterlony, in person, prepared at the same time to execute a movement, on which he staked his own reputation and the fate of an army, in a manner that perhaps nothing but success could justify to military critics, though demanded, in his opinion, as affording the only chance of averting an inglorious retreat on the commencement of the impending sickly season.

Putting himself on foot at the head of Miller's brigade, composed of His Majesty's 87th regiment and two native battalions, a company of artillery, and one of pioneers with two six-pounders on elephants, followed by the commissariat cattle, the General left Bichacore *serai* at nine o'clock at night, on the 14th February. After quitting the channel of the river, the troops, in single files, entered the Balucola, apparently the only defile having a name of the many which they had yet to

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thread. The moon rose at an early hour in an unclouded sky, when the scenery on either hand appeared extremely ragged and desolate. The most remarkable part of this night-march, from about twelve to two o'clock, was through what seemed a rocky chasm between two mountains. In some places, trees from the opposite sides met over the column; in others, the clear moonlight gleamed on cliffs at a great height above, from whence the descent of a few fragments, not to think of the arms which patriotic rage might minister to a roused population, would have crushed every living thing below. Three thousand men moved along this defile with the silence of a funeral procession. There was something impressive in the only sound that disturbed the general stillness. Some decayed trees having fallen across the narrow passage had to be removed, and the stroke of the axe was repeated in wild echoes before and behind the invading ranks.

By daybreak, the brigade slowly and laboriously ascending reached a dry channel,

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which in the rains is filled with water, leading to a steep computed to be five hundred feet high. The advance guard, clambering up zigzag with the assistance of the bushes, showed the way; and all the fighting men stood on the summit of Churraghati at seven in the morning of the 15th. Their chief and they might now draw their breath with freedom.

The heroic part was now acted, and no soldiers could have behaved better in such an adventure; but the task which I have undertaken, of exhibiting the character of the principal personage concerned, requires me to shift the scene.

Pushing forward a few miles further, the troops halted the same afternoon to bivouac in the forest, near a stream or *nullah* of good water, called Chukri Mukri. At this place, a notable example was witnessed of the change of disposition which residence in India effects on European privates. The men of the 87th foot, mostly raw from Ireland, who some years

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subsequently became unusually vicious, were, during this war, the admiration of all; and on the occasion under notice, uttering no complaints, they climbed the trees spontaneously and cutting off suitable branches, hutted their whole regiment, besides voluntary making a comfortable *bower*, as it was called, for the General and his staff.

Meanwhile, the Honourable Company's Europeans, not so actively employed with their hands, gave vent to very audible execrations at having nothing to eat after fasting and marching for eighteen hours. Two companies of sepoys ordered on duty, threw themselves on the ground, declaring that they could not rise without food. These lamentations arose out of the inability of the commissariat to bring the cattle carrying supplies over the heights; and, with extraordinary unanimity, all the sufferers, high and low, imputed their privations to the Quarter-Master-General. Sir David Ochterlony seemed at first to scout the assumption that soldiers, as he said, should

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never go where Bengara bullocks could not follow. But after taking measures to expedite the arrival of provisions, he appeared, in the only instance within my knowledge, to yield to the mere pressure from without; and I am sorry to add, reproved Pickersgill with undue severity for exposing the troops to starvation, by neglecting to give timely intimation that the usual means of transport would not suffice to keep the men supplied with the necessaries of life. The individual thus censured, had strength to weather storms. After listening with perfect composure and decorum, he began to reply with some striking compliments to himself, and acknowledged the trivial omission respecting the commissariat carriage, but pleaded the excusableness, if not the necessity, of merging inferior considerations in the importance of guiding the force through unparalleled hazards and difficulties, to the position in which, at the moment he spoke, it commanded the destiny of a kingdom. He concluded by stating, temperately and firmly,

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that if his merits seemed not to outweigh his faults, he was ready to resign his duties to any officer capable of affording the Commander more satisfaction. The General rejoined without in the least altering his tone: "What you call a trivial omission, and I think a serious neglect, is the only part of your conduct that I blame. That which you *have done*, deserves and has my highest approbation. As to your resignation, you serve the same government that I do, and, in my opinion, its interests still require your services and talents on my staff."

This qualified approval, in which just commendation certainly predominated, appeased Pickersgill, and restored harmony.

The suffering and dread of hunger soon vanished. The people, drivers, and coolies belonging to the commissariat, when put in requisition, were found capable of carrying enough of provisions to the bivouac to last till the pioneers had made footing for their cattle up the acclivity.

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On the 20th, the brigade was again prepared to march.

The operations of the second campaign of 1816 have already been detailed, and need not here be repeated. By the vigour of Ochterlony the last hopes of the Nepaulese were extinguished, and nothing in their power they were sensible could stay the march of the army to their capital, or save their national existence but submission to the will of the conqueror. Soon an envoy from the court was announced to be in waiting for admission to the British head-quarters.

The nature and object of his mission were readily suspected. The General, it is to be observed, who, like the government of that day, thought that the acquisition of the country would only be a pecuniary loss without equivalent advantage, was precluded by his instructions from exacting severer terms than those of the treaty which Lord Hastings had signed some months previously; yet he resolved to make

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the pride of the Goorkhas offer appropriate reparation, for the disrespect which they had shown to the sign-manual of our highest functionary, and a royal salute from his principal fortress, of which he knew that the friends and courtiers throughout Hindostan had been making a jest. Sir David, therefore, got up a sort of political melo-drama for the occasion. Summoning the host of vakeels or agents, and news-writers, who attended him on the part of the Sikh and hill-chiefs, including the sovereign of the Punjaub, he desired them to be seated, as usual, on the floor of his tent; and taking a chair, whilst, according to his custom, smoking a hookah himself, he directed the ambassador to be admitted. His Excellency, who had negociated with our agent at Terrai, looked rather disconcerted on finding that, instead of being welcomed with an embrace, he had to figure as the only person standing. Nevertheless, he managed to swagger a little, announcing himself as the bearer of

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tidings of peace from the puissant Rajah of Nepaul.

"Peace!" said the General: "has your master the effrontery to offer me peace, when he has nothing to give except what I choose to leave him?"

The negociator then attempted to deliver presents and flattering messages innumerable, but was checked and asked for his credentials. Letters from the Rajah and his minister were then read aloud. The tone of these was sufficiently subdued, but the usual verbose ambiguity pervaded them also; though both explicitly empowered the bearer to accept of whatever conditions might be conceded or dictated by the offended government.

"There is not a word in either of them," observed the General, "in atonement for the insult which your employers offered to the Governor-General, by refusing to confirm the treaty of November, after soliciting his Lordship to sign it first, and proclaim the event

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to the chiefs of India, which he did with public formalities."

"It was a great fault," replied the envoy: "they implore forgiveness, and have ratified the treaty: here it is, bearing the lal mohur, or seal of state. What more can they do to deserve pardon?"

"Your master deserves to have Khatmandoo burnt to the ground for such an act of insolence; but fall down, and ask mercy in his name, as the Goorkha ambassador asks favours of the Emperor of China, and I will try to spare him."

Down went the representative of Nepaulese Majesty in abject prostration, repeating his sovereign's profession of penitence. The farce was now over; and Sir David, giving his visitor a chair, treated him like a gentleman, until everything was settled, during the rest of their intercourse.

The army departed from Muckwanpóre and its other positions in the hills, on the 4th of

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March, just in time to escape the annual sickness in returning home.

The treaty, repeatedly referred to in former pages, had, by the recent occurrences, acquired a character which did not belong to it previously. One of the equivocations which the Goorkhas had contrived to introduce, with the hope, if compelled to accept it, of finding opportunities to turn the wording to their account, told fearfully against them in the new posture of affairs. It was stipulated that the contracting parties should retain, in perpetuity, the territories their respective troops might occupy at the ratification of the above document.

In November, 1815, this stipulation would have enabled the enemy, by stealing a march here and there into adjoining districts, to claim nearly all the lowland tracts originally under their dominion; but in March, 1816, when Ochterlony, having passed beyond the first range of hills, "occupied" the line of the Rapte; the same clause, sadly paltering in a

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double sense, extended the British frontier to that river, and would have deprived Nepaul of almost half her revenue.

The military and political importance of the fine upland valley of that country had not in those days, if it has yet, attracted the notice of Oriental statesmen. Situated in a comparatively temperate and healthy climate, where English soldiers could have an easy life as at home; it is fitted to become the residence of a military colony, or of any number of European soldiers, ready, whenever required, to descend to the plains from a natural fastness which art is capable of rendering unassailable, for the protection of the eastern provinces of British India. If Cashmere, as Nepaul was, should ever be at the disposal of a Governor-General, it is ardently hoped, that instead of resigning it to the dominions of worthless barbarians, he may perceive its inestimable value for securing the tranquillity and progressive civilization of our westerly possessions against all future hazard of invasion or insurrection.

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Ruling on the ocean, fortified in the mountains, and navigating the rivers that connect them, the British power in the East might for ever defy foreign aggression, and all but the suicidal vices of bad government, at home.

Lord Hastings, who loved to practise magnificent generosity, satisfied with dismembering Nepaul of her conquests west of the Gogra; and a portion bestowed on the King of Oude, made the Rajah a free gift of all that the last campaign had cancelled his right to.

Does not this "lenient policy," so frequently imitated, partake of the delusion of the poor Hindu, who, if he wounds a troublesome serpent, offers it milk, in the superstitious hope of averting the reptile's sting from his family, or turning its venom into balm?

When the remaining power of the Goorkhas, with aggravated inclination to molest and injure, has to be crushed, and the day is coming, I leave it to the calculation of chances to determine what probability exists, that another

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Ochterlony to direct the army, and another Pickersgill to guide it through a balucola unknown till wanted, will concur to achieve the second overthrow of that insolent and vindictive people.

The services of Sir David Ochterlony against Nepaul obtained him the thanks of Parliament, and the first Grand Cross of the Bath bestowed on a Company's officer. The Prince Regent likewise granted him an honourable augmentation to his armorial bearings, containing two banners inscribed, NEPAUL and DELHI, with the motto, *Prudentia et animo;* suggested by Canning, whose eloquent praise in moving the vote of the Commons, was esteemed by the subject of it not the smallest of his distinctions.*

* "Whitehall, January 14th, 1817.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name, and on the behalf of His Majesty, taking into consideration the highly distinguished services rendered by Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., a Major-General in the army in the East Indies, and Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, on divers im-



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These public acknowledgments were the more gratifying that he had neither private friend

portant occasions during a period of thirty-nine years, particularly in the course of those arduous operations of the Mahratta war, which conduced to the decisive victory gained by the British forces under the command of the late General Viscount Lake, in the memorable conflict before Delhi, on the 11th of September, 1803; to the consequent surrender of that capital, and to the restoration of His Majesty Shah Alum to the throne of his ancestors; as also the proofs of wisdom and military talent afforded by this officer during the subsequent defence of the said city against the whole force of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; his prudent arrangement and disposition of the comparatively few troops under his orders; his judicious conduct at so difficult a crisis, in the discharge of the high and important functions of British Resident at the court of Delhi, combined with his great energy and animated personal exertions, to which were chiefly attributed the safety of that capital, and of the person of Shah Alum, at a time when the loss of either might have proved highly prejudicial to the public interests in Hindostan; and further the unremitting zeal, foresight, and decision, manifested by the said Major-General, under circumstances of great difficulty, during the late contest with the State of

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nor influence to move the fountain of honour in his favour.

Nepaul, especially in that series of combined movements, during the nights of the 14th and 15th of April, 1815, against the fortified positions of the Goorkha army on the heights of Maloun, which led to the establishment of the British troops on that range of mountains, theretofore deemed to be impregnable; to the evacuation by the enemy of the fortresses of Maloun and Jytuck; to the defeat and surrender of Umur Sing Thappa, the chief commander of the hostile force; and to the successful and glorious termination of that campaign; and, lastly, the judgment, perseverance, and vigour, displayed by the said Major-General, as Commander of the British forces, upon the renewal of the contest with the aforesaid state, the happy and triumphant results of which have been consolidated by a treaty of peace between the East India Company and the Rajah of Nepaul, highly beneficial to the interests of the British empire in India; His Royal Highness, desirous, in addition to other marks of his royal approbation, of commemorating the faithful and important services of the said Major-General, by granting unto him certain armorial augmentations, has been pleased to give and grant His Majesty's royal licence and permission, that he, the



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The General returned on finishing the last Nepaulese campaign, to the duties of the

said Sir David Ochterlony, and his descendants, may bear to the armorial ensigns of Ochterlony the honourable augmentations, following, viz.: On an embattled chief two banners in saltice, the one of the Mahratta States, inscribed 'Delhi,' the other of the State of Nepaul, inscribed 'Nepaul,' the staves broken and encircled by a wreath of laurel, with this motto to the arms, viz: 'Prudentia et animo,' and the crest of honourable augmentation following, viz.: Out of an eastern crown, inscribed 'Nepaul,' an arm issuant, the hand grasping a baton of command, entwined by an olive branch; provided the said armorial ensigns be first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, otherwise the said royal licence to be void, and of no effect."

"Jovis, 6 die Februarii, 1817.—Resolved, that the thanks of this house be given to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, for the skill, valour, and perseverance displayed by him in the late war with Nepaul, to which the result of that contest is mainly to be ascribed; and also to the several officers of the army, both European and Native, for the bravery and discipline displayed by them in that arduous contest."

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political agency, and the command of the troops on the north-west frontier. He was almost immediately afterwards nominated to command the reserve of the grand army for the extirpation of the Pindarees. This service afforded him no scope for manifesting any of his characteristic qualities. The treaties with the Rajpoot states having been framed and signed at Delhi, he received their submission along with that of the noted Amer Khan, and was appointed Resident in Rajpootana, as well as Commander of the new western division of the army, comprising Nuseerabad, Neemuch, and Mhow.

Knowing the associations which attached him to Delhi, and perhaps desirous of atoning for the injustice of one of his predecessors, the Marquis of Hastings offered the General the residency of that ancient capital, when it became vacant in 1818; and the offer was gratefully accepted for the anticipated reasons. The same Governor-General, however, persuaded Sir David three years afterwards to assume the

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administration and command of the force in Central India, as President in Malwa and Rajpootana. This office of high trust was the last conferred upon the subject of my narrative. The Marquis of Hastings retired, and Lord Amherst became the nominal head of the Supreme government; events speedily followed by the war with Ava, which exhausted and forestalled the resources of that rich empire, without sustaining the native opinion of British prowess. A train of adverse occurrences of little moment singly, was artfully magnified into a series of defeats ending in entire discomfiture. The chiefs and people throughout Upper India, while these reports sounded in their ears, saw troops, treasure, and military stores moving or descending the rivers in fleets of boats from remote places towards the Presidency and the sea, instead of coming from thence. The consequence was a general and unfortunately a cherished belief, that the foreign conquerors of Hindostan were now vanquished by the Burmese, and

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about to flee from the country with all that they could carry off.

In this state of the public mind, Bulder Sing, late Rajah of Bhurtpore, more confident of our stability than most of his neighbours, in expectation of his own death, requested the President in Malwa and Rajpootana to obtain the recognition of his heir on the part of the British government, by investing him according to custom with a dress of honour. That Prince having no male issue, had followed the course prescribed by Hindoo law and the practice of his predecessors, in adopting a relative to succeed him; adoption being considered in this instance as valid, as both the parties most interested constantly called the boy named Bulwant Sing, the Rajah's son, and had hitherto allowed his title to inherit the principality to remain unquestioned.

The Resident accordingly forwarded Bulder Sing's request to the Governor-General, with his opinion in favour of granting it agreeably to established usage, in settling the succession

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of our protected allies to their sovereignties. This communication was made in the month of August, 1824. No answer arrived till October. The secretary in the political department then signified, that government entirely approved of the proposed investiture, provided the person to be recognised had a just title, which the Resident was enjoined to ascertain before he "committed the paramount state to support" him; and further informed, in conclusion, that if the boy Bulwant Sing were the reigning Rajah's son, no doubt could remain of the course to be pursued.

Sir David Ochterlony, having already reported the relationship in which the Rajah and his heir legally stood, believed the conditions fulfilled on which he was authorised to act, and consequently intimated his intention early in November to invest Bulwant Sing "under the orders received," adding as a reason for doing so, the dying Prince's fears, lest a pretender should disturb the minority of his successor if the formality of his reception

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under British supremacy were omitted. This distinct notification of the step about to be taken, and the nature of the evils which it was expected to prevent, averted neither prohibition nor remark during three months which followed. The ceremony of investiture took place on the 6th of February, 1825.

In the beginning of March, Bulder Sing died; and Bulwant Sing, only seven years of age, was duly proclaimed. Doorgun Sal, nephew to the late, and cousin to the present Rajah, murdered the Regent, usurped the government, and assuming the style of sovereignty, bade defiance to the protecting power, which he thought no longer in a state to oppose his pretensions. Sir David Ochterlony immediately issued a proclamation denouncing Doorgun Sal as a rebel and traitor; but whilst apprizing the Governor-General in Council of the usurpation, he deemed it perilous, in the disaffected state of the country, to wait for instructions, or to permit the least delay to occur in manifesting his ability to resent an



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insulting act of defiance to the paramount government. Under this necessity, he took on himself to assemble the disposable force of the upper provinces with the greatest expedition practicable, and joined it at Muttra, in the month of April.

The usurper, seeing his miscalculation of our resources, with fortifications in disrepair, and a small garrison, part of which was ready to betray him, renounced the sovereign title (*Guddee Nusheen*), and entreated the Resident to let him be Regent during the minority of the young Rajah. A negociation had commenced for a small pension to Doorgun Sal from the Bhurtpore state, on condition that he should bring the Prince whom he had dethroned to the General's tent in safety, and throw open the gates of his fort to the army which came to restore him. But this favourable posture of affairs was suddenly reversed by a despatch from Calcutta, dated April 2nd.

The letter referred to, was from the Political Secretary, who, in apparent forgetfulness of

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everything that had passed on the subject between August and February, now condemned the investiture as an improper and unsanctioned measure; denied the young Rajah's right to protection, even if duly invested; reprehended the Resident's proclamation and proceedings against Doorgun Sal, directing the former to be recalled, the latter to cease; and, finally, ordered the army, which the General had unwisely and unjustly assembled, to be broken up, and the corps composing it remanded to their several stations. The same functionary, on reflection, before any answer had time to reach him, changed his ground of disapprobation on most of these points; but continued, in the name of government, steadfast in censure and disavowal of the Resident's conduct.

My limits afford space for only a brief and imperfect abstract of the arguments on both sides of this discussion of an interesting question in Indian politics. After tacitly relinquishing mistakes in matters of fact, it was held, on the part of the Governor-General in Council,

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that the investiture of a native Prince, duly applied for and acceded to, authorized the paramount state to interfere with his external relations, for the general welfare of India, but gave him no right to its protection against domestic enemies; and when one is dethroned by a subject whom the chiefs and people do not oppose, it becomes a question of mere expediency whether the British government shall acknowledge the usurper or the lawful sovereign.

Applying these principles to the case of Bhurtpore, it appeared that Sir David Ochterlony, unmindful of the interests of the state which he served, whilst it remained engaged in an arduous struggle with the Burmese on one hand, had provoked a new war on the other, by an ill-timed and inexpedient declaration in favour of the weaker of two competitors; which naturally incensed a powerful ruler *de facto*, whose hostility threatened calamity to the north-west provinces.

Sir David Ochterlony, in opposition to these

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doctrines, maintained that the greater and the smaller state owed reciprocal duties to one another. The very word "paramount," applied by the Secretary to the superior, promised the benefits of a vassal to the inferior; and the acknowledgment of British supremacy by the lesser principalities in India, bore a strong analogy to the ancient surrender of allodial possessions in Europe; sacrifices which were made in both instances to obtain the protection of a powerful ally. The Governor-General in Council, he argued, by accepting the submission of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, incurred an indubitable obligation to uphold him, whenever his sovereignty should be threatened or suspended.

The second article of the treaty, then subsisting with that Prince, declared that the enemies of the one contracting party were to be the enemies of the other, without allusion to any distinction between subjects and foreigners. Whether the sovereigns were fancifully supposed to comprise the three estates in his own

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person, or the fact were admitted that the nobility and people have no political existence in any form of Indian monarchy, our engagements are invariably entered into with the Prince for himself and his dynasty alone. Nothing less than such criminality as might render a compact void between individuals, could justify the supreme in abandoning the subordinate power, when assailed by lawless violence. The dethroned Rajah of Bhurtpore was an innocent minor, whom the British government had just invested with his dignity, after receiving a distinct warning that his succession was likely to be disputed.

As to the war in Ava, the General contended, it alone, in its unpropitious influence on the mind of the natives, had emboldened Doorgun Sal to rebel, under the common impression that no available force remained in the upper provinces to put him down, and chastise what he knew to be a flagrant insult to the supremacy of the British government. This chief (further trusting to the renown of

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his fort, which, having resisted Lord Lake, had long been the rallying point and rallying cry of disaffection to our sway) calculated on the aid of hundreds of thousands, who were eager, as soon as they dared, to join his standard; in hopes of reviving former days of tumult and anarchy, when every bold, bad man might make sure of living by plunder, and even dream of seizing a throne. The very difficulties and reverses of the Burmese war, therefore, were the identical circumstances which made Doorgun Sal believe that he could depose a sovereign under British protection with impunity, required the paramount authority, instead of courting peace with a rebellious criminal, to wield the sword of justice, and confuting the popular notion of our weakness, crush revolt at its birth, before its expanding energies convulsed the most warlike part of India. This reasoning, employed in a detailed and lucid exposition of the transaction in all its bearings, did not satisfy, but seemed to irritate the goverment to deeper indignation.

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The dread professed of the insignificant state of Bhurtpore, whose only strength was in the name of its fort, and whose whole army would scarcely have ventured outside its walls to encounter two regiments of sepoys, is a singular feature in the hasty assumptions of government, which transferred anew in a letter, dated the 15th, directing the same troops, of which the dispersion had been ordered on the 2nd of April, to be kept embodied to protect our provinces against the invasion of Doorgun Sal.

Such vacillation and imperfect knowledge in the counsels of the executive seemed, in Sir David Ochterlony's opinion, to justify inattention to a part of his instructions which he deemed derogatory to the honour of his country. This proclamation, therefore, was not revoked; nor did he explain, in other words apologise, for his conduct to the usurper; but, keeping the despatch secret for a few days, he endeavoured to obtain the conditional submission which that personage had previously offered. Doorgun Sal, however, having emissaries at

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Calcutta, had received intelligence of the measures against him being reprehended, almost as soon as the Resident, and now considered himself a recognised prince. On discovering this, the General told the actual ruler of Bhurtpore the whole truth, without disguise or equivocation, dispersed the force, and transmitted to government his resignation of all his public employments.

The promptitude with which he had assembled nearly ten thousand men, before Doorgun Sal was prepared to resist such force for an instant, produced, notwithstanding the arrest of his measures, the happy effect of overawing the malcontents, by what appeared the sudden revival of power, which they hoped and believed to be extinct.

The wisdom of Ochterlony's policy towards Bhurtpore, if it ever needed vindication in the eyes of Indian statesmen and soldiers, was soon more than vindicated, by being adopted on the part of the same functionaries who had reprobated his designs, when they appeared to him

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specially applicable, and the execution of them most demanded. "Time lost," says the proverbial truism, "can never be regained."

In the beginning of 1825, he who had made so many strongholds of nature and art submit to him, while defended by a people certainly not less brave, enjoyed the fairest prospect of taking Bhurtpore, without subjecting a protected state to more of the evils of war than he had inflicted on the possessions of foreign enemies.

In the beginning of 1826, after the usurpation had been allowed to consolidate, it was found necessary to invest the devoted town with thirty thousand troops, and to make it pay a dreadful penalty for Doorgun Sal's criminal ambition, which the counsels of the paramount power sanctioned at first, and now consented to punish with the blood of the unhappy people whom it had induced to acquiesce in their ruler's crimes.

The garrison, unenterprising, and almost passive before resistance, became useless, and did

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little to maintain the renown of their fort. The principal column of assault, under General Reynell, soon overpowering any show of opposition, and opening the way, as it entered the breach, for any numbers to follow, virtually took Bhurtpore. The supplementary and later operations of the storm, conducted with approved gallantry and severe loss, however requisite to the glory of the day, were apparently not required to insure the capture of the place; but with regard to the inhabitants, they had forfeited their lives according to the laws of war; and the Commander-in-Chief, doubtless thinking a terrible example to the insurgents against British supremacy was demanded in this instance, permitted the European soldiery to fall on the promiscuous crowds inside, with that ferocity which they generally evince towards persons differing from themselves in colour; and they put to death five thousand human beings, of whom, besides armed men, a great proportion were women, children, and peaceful labourers. Sixty-six lacs of rupees,

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found in the repositories of our ally and his subjects, became, agreeably to the same ordinances, the booty of the protecting army.

Sir David Ochterlony, however, was not destined to see this recognition of the soundness of his views, or the calamities which resulted from delaying to realise them. He left Muttra, followed by the post which brought him more letters from the Presidency, couched in harsh and ungracious terms. The counsellors of the Governor-General, apparently thinking their defence of Doorgun Sal, and reprehension of his opponent complete, had begun to review the proceedings of the Resident in Malwa and Rajpootana of older date, and continued to discover much in them which called forth their disapprobation, until his last despatch informed those gentlemen of the termination of his official career.

Accepting his resignation eagerly, they offered him a sinecure on the terms on which he had, a twelvemonth previously, proposed to retire from active life, and act as the agent

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of government with the King of Delhi. This idea of retirement arose at that period in consequence of a long and severe attack of gout, the violence of which he attributed to the climate of Central India; and it was then his wish to fix his future residence in a part of the country where he had always enjoyed good health. Shalimar, a favourite villa belonging successively to Sir Charles Metcalfe and him, built on the site of Shah Jehan's gardens, seven miles from Delhi, was the place then chosen, and in which he now sought a retreat from the toils of office, and unworthy persecution by a party in the government.

Affecting no stoicism, he felt acutely the personal disregard shown to him in the name of the highest authority; and allowed the reflection to prey upon his mind that the closing act of his long and honourable services, though compulsory, was a violation of the faith which he had pledged, and a desertion by his country of her post under circumstances when

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all our friends amongst the natives desired to see it sternly maintained.

On his arrival at Shalimar, the rainy season had set in; and the recently opened canal which passes through the grounds, overflowing its banks, made the neighbouring fields marshy. The General's infirm constitution, suffering from the exhaustion which follows excitement from depressing thoughts, which the want of business, so long habitual, permitted to intrude, subjected him in this unfortunate locality to an attack of intermittent fever. It recurred, in spite of the usual remedies, with increased violence on the third day afterwards. His medical adviser, dreading the consequence of a return of the paroxysm, which must be expected if the sufferer remained exposed to the causes of the fever, determined in concurrence with the other members of Sir David's family, to remove him immediately to Meerut, the nearest healthy station, where change of air it was hoped might produce a cessation

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of the disease. The only vacant house there, that could be heard of on the emergency, belonged to the Begum Sumroo (latterly, for some purpose, called *Sombre*), then residing at Sirdhana. An answer could not be waited for, but it was thought sufficient to apprise the Begum and her principal Christian officer of the urgent occasion for the accommodation, which she could amply and conveniently afford. Interest, however, had already begun to draw off her sneaking train of native chiefs and nobles from the outcast of present power; and when the General reached Meerut after midnight, the Begum's mansion was not lighted up and open to receive him. The doors were bolted within, and sentries stood before them outside. There appeared the intentional negation of welcome to the man in sickness and seeming adversity, whose forbearance, when invested with authority, had left "her Highness" in the enjoyment of the spacious stye and golden manger, which, whatever her unknown deserts may have been, she forfeited

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all claim to by her political tergiversation at the siege of Delhi.

Sir David Ochterlony, meanwhile, accompanied by the surgeon of his late residency, was scarcely conscious of what passed. The officer of the Begum's guard, manifesting feelings unknown to his mistress, on hearing of the disappointment which she had occasioned, regretted his inability to behave as he wished, but said that he would not oppose the occupation of the house. It was entered on this permission. The veteran, whose days were about to be numbered, feeling at first greatly better, heard letters read and gave various directions respecting his private affairs, which he had not been able to do previously, since the commencement of his illness. On the day expected, the fever which used to come on early did not appear during the forenoon, and a hope was anxiously entertained that he had escaped the paroxysm. But towards evening the cold fit again attacked him, and was succeeded by a comatose sleep from which he

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never awoke. His death took place on the 25th of July, 1825.

Manifestations of respect and regret for the deceased, made in peculiar good taste at the large civil and military station of Meerut, where he expired, appeared throughout India at the time. In the metropolis itself, the feeling in his favour was so strong and universal, that it drew the sympathies of the Governor-General, and some of his reputed advisers, into the common vortex.

In consequence, minute-guns were fired from the ramparts of Fort William, and a becoming acknowledgment was published in the official gazette of the merits of the valued servant, whom the state had lost. Lord Amherst, besides, in his private capacity, contributed a handsome sum to a subscription for building a testimonial to the memory of the late General.

The inhabitants of Calcutta, subsequently did Sir David Ochterlony and themselves much honour by erecting the column in their city which bears his name, and testifies to his worth.



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But the noblest and most enduring monument to the hero of Maloun, as he had been appropriately styled, is the beautiful region of the north-west mountains, which his military genius subjected to the sway of his country.

I have but imperfectly, and with no skilful hand, sketched his services in the Nepaulese campaigns. When the world shall have been taught to appreciate them by a fit historian, Ochterlony will be found, in his claims to distinction as a commander, to stand alone, without precursor or successor among Indian officers. Mountain warfare, distinct in its nature and difficulties from every other, had before his time no place in our eastern annals. He will be allowed, on the most cursory view of his operations, to have excelled in strategy, the highest branch of his art; but I consider it the best attribute of his professional character, that he is eminently distinguished for resorting to science, instead of sacrificing men to command success.

It is characteristic of savages to make the

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perfection of a great warrior consist in the slaughter of entire armies, or the extirpation of a tribe. Some unseemly remnant of their animal ferocity adheres to the minds of individuals, deliberately writing in our intellectual and refined age, who rate the ability of a modern General by the number of fellow-creatures whom he destroys, or leads to destruction. They who thus estimate the most admired effort of human talent, in the spirit of a cannibal, appear to abjure all that we have gained by civilization. But if it be, as I believe it is, the actuating principle of every good man engaged in war, to seek reputation by employing intellect rather than brute force, and by the magnitude of the obstacles which he overcomes with least detriment to the interests of humanity in executing his trust, Ochterlony is entitled to enviable fame. I know of no soldier who has ever accomplished more than he with the loss of fewer men. Though out-numbered by the mountaineers, in the proportion of at least three to one, on



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their own ground, he subdued the Goorkhas without losing, in the two campaigns, five hundred of his regular troops, less by one half than perished elsewhere under the sword of the same enemy in a single night.

His abilities and peculiarities as a statesman cannot be made known without the publication of his official correspondence. He framed no remarkable treaties, nor negotiated any important alliances, which can be referred to. The weight of his opinion and advice on the princes and ministers, with whom he held friendly communication on their affairs, was, doubtless, productive of infinite but unnoticed good. None, indeed, ever better understood the character of the natives, as the means by which it is to be influenced. With a taste, partaking of the Asiatic, for splendour and profuse expenditure, he imitated their great men in whatever was stately and imposing. But with regard to their thousand small forms and petty ceremonies, by which they try to assert, or obtain pretensions at the expense of others, those solemn

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and trifling observances, in which our diplomatists, respectful of Oriental learning and etiquette, generally excite ridicule, by awkwardly attempting to follow, and getting overreached to boot, Ochterlony, sweeping them all aside, treated the whole array of nonsense like a fence of cobwebs whenever it came in the way of anything useful or desirable. Chiefs and courtiers, when they found him, instead of wasting weeks and months in playing at their recondite game of precedence and dignity, yield the stakes as he would present toys to children, laughed at their own puerilities, and entered on serious business at once.

He was wont, however, it must be remarked, to make light of forms even where they are convenient and unobjectionable. Hence, probably, one cause of the enmity with which he, in most instances, inspired men of office, whose official existence, as a still greater personage, Louis XIV., said of himself, is little else than a form. Similar impatience of unessential accompaniments and wilful impediments ap-

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peared in nearly all his proceedings of a public nature. Those who had known him only in social parties, inclined to acquiesce rather than contradict; and preferring to suggest instead of asserting difference of opinion—like a polished and even-tempered gentleman, which he really was—if they afterwards tried to make use of the General, or the Resident, to forward any selfish views, frequently thought they had reason to complain of his abrupt and very direct observations. He often got rid of entanglements by cutting the Gordian knot in a way in which both Europeans and natives called impolite.

With discernment, like the instinct of some bird I have read of, which is said to pierce the cocoon of the silk-worm at the very spot where it lives, and to drag forth the insect, in spite of all the elaborate texture made to protect and conceal it, the importuned functionary, penetrating the web of plausible sophistry about "the good of the service," or the verbosity of some Hindostanee Highness,

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professing anxiety to lengthen the Honourable Company's shadow, would name the real but unmentioned object without preface, and pronounce it inadmissible, to the dismay of the suitor who was expecting to succeed by keeping his drift out of sight.

Sir David, though he advocated and enforced strict subordination on points of military duty, liked to see all persons independent and equal in private company. None but men of sense, he thought, bore submission and restraint with good-will, even when indispensable; such persons did so cheerfully, when allowed relaxation afterwards; but if the dining-room be made a parade, the best officers will rebel in their hearts. At his own table, and before the decline of his health and spirits, he delighted in splendid hospitality. Nothing offended him more than to hear of any one, whether a vain field-officer, a bashful subaltern, or a fine lady, expecting "attention." The invitation to be his companions for the time, according to him, expressed his wish to make

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them all alike happy and at ease; but whoever desired particular notice, of course wanted to have the rest comparatively neglected. Instead of exerting himself to do the honours, therefore, he chose to sit, partaking of all the passing amusements like one of the guests.

Whilst simply Colonel Ochterlony, he was allowed, I believe, to indulge his humour in this way without remark; but when he became a conqueror and a satrap, strangers at least ascribed his deportment in society, naturally, though erroneously, to haughtiness. Whether this was right or wrong, I shall not inquire; but the man's conduct underwent no change with his rise in station. I am still less qualified to decide the moral and theological question, which has been raised on the more delicate point of his domestic connexions. Some virtuous and well-meaning persons of both sexes, imperfectly informed on the subject, have blamed him for setting an example of what they deemed vice to the young men of the army.

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Sir David Ochterlony's capital fault as a man, and in some degree, though by no means to the same extent as a public officer, was pecuniary extravagance. He was generous to excess; often doing extensive good, but not less frequently throwing his money away. He seldom dismissed *borrowers* unsatisfied; and they did not spare him. Deeming it unhandsome to demand receipts from ladies and gentlemen, not a few had the acuteness to discover, and take advantage of his foible in a manner which it is mortifying to reflect on. Among the "distinguished visitors" who occasionally honour this country, were birds of passage and prey, unambitious of leaving a good name behind them, who condescended to accept largely of advances from the General's coffers which they have not yet repaid. Were the principal and interest of all their unrecorded debts honestly liquidated, the aggregate would rather exceed than fall short of £30,000. He cannot be said to have saved anything out of his salary as Resident, nine thousand rupees



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monthly, for the last nine years of his life. Though most anxious to leave a fortune to his heir, the accumulation of the pension from the Court of Directors in England was all that he could allot to that purpose before his death. Shares subscribed for in the Laudable Society of Calcutta, and the sale of his property, provided the remainder of what he left his successor in the baronetcy, and the rest of his family.

The career of one of the ablest servants of the Honourable Company, exhibited in this narrative, shows under what contingencies the race is awarded to the swift, and the battle to the strong by the local government of India. During tranquil and prosperous times, merit in the abstract is perhaps nowhere much in demand. *Par nobis neque supra*, is the motto of most rulers, and with us it seems to depend on the accidental existence of kindred capacity in the head of the state, even when pressed by difficulty and danger, whether first-rate talents shall be shunned and

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neglected, or employed to advance the public good. Hence, under the auspices of a Wellesley, Ochterlony was selected and appointed to one of the foremost offices in the political department. Sir George Barlow removed him to a sinecure command. He was restored to political employ and important duties by a Minto. A Hastings sent him forth to achieve military triumphs, and to exercise the first subordinate functions. He was finally censured and driven from public life by the minister of Earl Amherst of Arracan.

These two classes of governors, estimated as they stand in general opinion, like the opposite poles of the magnet, respectively attracting and repelling the same object, concur singularly in attesting the genuine worth of the individual whom they alternately elevated and depressed.

Ochterlony's title to the esteem and confidence of the greatest of his official superiors, was confirmed by the applause of the European and native communities under the Bengal Presidency. The friendship, and in some cases,

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the confidential intercourse, which he enjoyed with the most eminent of his compeers—the Lakes, the Malcolms, the Elphinstones, and the Metcalfes, are testimonies borne to his personal deserts by men who could not be dazzled or deceived. They who probably knew the man more intimately still, from seeing daily the undisguised acts of his heart and mind, the officers of his staff and Residency, who were with him in the gaieties of his home during peace, in camps, in deserts, in the bivouacs of the Nepaul mountains, and on the field of battle, retain one uniform impression of respect and affection for his memory.

These feelings, which power and favour cannot buy, were produced by mere intrinsic qualities. Of the reciprocity and sense of gratitude with which he repaid the good will and good offices of his friends, unbiassed by worldly influences, I will mention a simple, but to me, an affecting illustration. He died with Lawtie's mourning-ring on his finger, ten years after the premature death of that young and valued officer had separated them.

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for ever. This instance, with something of historical interest to recommend it, will prove sufficiently, what hundreds more might be drawn from the privacies of life to attest, that the kindliest sympathies in him warmed the same breast, which could be steeled by fixedness of purpose, and that hardihood of soul which despises toil and danger.

In now concluding, I have to state my conviction, that the facts related or referred to in depicting the subject of this sketch will be found substantially correct. Relying solely on the unalterable evidence which they afford, and suppressing the voice of partial regard, I shall be authorized to pronounce Ochterlony in the naked excellence of his character, divested of the drapery of titles and station, to have been a man who derived his highest nobility from nature, and earned, by his public services, a conspicuous place among the distinguished British officers who have extended the dominion, and upheld the true glory of their country in Asia.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### FORMATION AND SERVICES OF THE SIRMOOR BATTALION.

In the year 1815, four battalions were formed from the disbanded Nepaulese troops, each corps consisting of ten companies of one soobadar, four jumadars, eight havildars, eight naiks, two buglers, and a hundred and twenty sepoys each.

The Sirmoor battalion was formed at Nahan under its present gallant commander, then Lieutenant Young; two others, designated the first and second Nusseeree, at Sabathoo, under Lieutenants Ross and M'Hargie respectively; and the fourth was raised at Kumaon from

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the troops who came over to Colonel Nicols at the close of the campaign.

The Sirmoor battalion had not been embodied six months when it was reported by its zealous commandant, "fit for active service;" it was immediately directed to join the force forming at Seetapore, to invade the pass into Nepaul. The corps moved at once, and had reached Moradabad when the army was suddenly broken up, and the battalion returned to Deyrah, which was selected as their future cantonment in preference to the former post of Nahan. Scarcely, however, had temporary huts been erected, when the army at Seetapore was again formed under Colonel Nicols. The corps marched at a moment's warning, pushed across the Ganges below Hurdwar, and joined the rendezvous by rapid marches.

The battalion was on its arrival received by Colonel Nicols, highly complimented, and reported by him to be "the only corps with the army properly equipped for Hill-service." Their ammunition was packed in portable boxes, pre-

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pared for the purpose by Lieutenant Young, and transported on the backs of hill Klashies or Peepawallahs, recruited for the purpose, and permanently attached to the corps. The Goorkhas were clothed in their mountain costume, and were unincumbered with tents of any description, nor, indeed, did they require them, for in a wooded country, such as they were about to invade, the Rhokerees by their sides would have provided a comfortable shelter in ten minutes, and they had been too long accustomed to bivouac on their native mountains, under the open canopy of Heaven, to feel the absence of camp equipage as a deprivation.

Notwithstanding the praises of Colonel Nicols, he intimated that "he could not trust" the little Highlanders, as it was not natural to suppose that they would so soon fight against their brethren of Nepaul. Their commander smiled at the idea, feeling the utmost confidence in his men, and longing to prove to the gallant colonel, that the Goorkhas were

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soldiers of fortune, who would fight faithfully and bravely for their employers: unfortunately they were not tried. The successes of Sir David Ochterlony brought on peace with the Nepaulese; and the corps once more returned to Deyrah, and remained till 1818, when the 2nd Nusseeree battalion was ordered to join the army forming under Sir David Ochterlony at Kurnaul. It was, however, ascertained that the corps was not in a sufficiently good state of discipline; and Captain Young immediately solicited and obtained permission for the employment of his battalion in their stead, before (to use his own expression) "the spirit of the corps evaporated." Accordingly, in the month of October, 1818, the Sirmoor battalion, joined, by forced marches, the reserve of the grand army at Goorgong, and served under Sir David the whole of the Mahratta campaign, which closed, on the part of this force, with the taking of Jumshed's gun at Sambertoke, after three days' forced marching under General Knox. Shortly afterwards, three hundred guns

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were made over in charge to Captain Young, who escorted them to Delhi with his own corps, and two battalions of the Begum Sumroo's troops. After this duty had been performed, the Goorkhas returned to their cantonments at Deyrah, in the month of April. About this period, the corps was reduced to eight companies of eighty men.

On the 2nd of October, 1824, an express reached Deyrah from Mr. Grindall, the magistrate of Saharunpore, stating that a part of the district had risen in rebellion, that upwards of eight hundred men, principally Goojurs, headed by the notorious free-booter Kower, had taken possession of the Gurhee of Koonja, in that zillah, and were committing every species of atrocity. He solicited the immediate aid of two hundred rank and file of the Sirmoor battalion, with the requisite proportion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The express reached Deyrah at 8 P.M., and at 2 A.M. the detachment was *en route*, commanded by Captain Young, and accompanied by the

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Honourable Mr. Shore, of the Civil Service, who, with his accustomed zeal and love of enterprise, marched with the little band. Mr. Grindall joined the detachment at Secunderpore, with one hundred and fifty men of the Sirmoor battalion, who had been stationed at Saharunpore, attended by Lieutenant Debude of the engineers, and Doctor Royle, as volunteers. After resting for about an hour, the party moved on to Koonja, which they reached about 2 P.M., having made a forced march of thirty-six miles to the scene of action.

The rebels were drawn up outside the fort, and along the skirts of the village in order for battle, and at once opened their fire upon the advancing column, which was instantly led to the attack by Captain Young. The conflict was short and decisive, and the enemy, routed and broken, took refuge in the stronghold in their rear.

After taking a rapid survey of the gurhee in which the marauders had posted themselves, it was determined that the attack should be made

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at once; otherwise the whole gang would, in all probability, make their escape, and disperse during the night, only to re-unite in some other part of the district. The walls of the fort were high, however, and in excellent repair. Escalade was out of the question, as there were neither ladders nor the means of making them, nor indeed was there sufficient time for the undertaking. Without a gun, therefore, to blow open the gate, there appeared little prospect of a successful result to the assault; the walls were well protected by matchlock men; and a determined band of the ruffians, well armed, hopeless of mercy, and treble the number of their assailants, were not likely to prove an easy, or a bloodless conquest. The question was how to *get at them*, but necessity is the mother of invention. A large tree was in the course of a few minutes levelled to the earth, by the ready khokeries of the Goorkhas, the branches lopped off, and a huge "battering ram" formed from the trunk. Ropes were obtained, and being fixed along it at equal dis-

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tances, were manned on each side by the little mountaineers, Mr. Shore and Lieutenant Debude claiming the honour of supporting the two front ropes.

Captain Young instantly made his arrangements for the attack, and led on the skirmishers to the edge of the ditch to cover the advance of the storming party—a heavy and galling fire was kept up from the ramparts, as well as through the chinks of the wooden door of the gurhee, by which many of our little fellows were knocked over, but the *ram* pushed steadily on. They reached the gateway, but the enemy for some time prevented the close approach of the party by thrusting long spears through the openings in the door, and making a most determined and obstinate resistance; this opposition, however, was at length sufficiently overcome "to get within hitting distance," and with a "one, two, three, hurra!!!" bang went the battering ram against the iron bound gate, which, at the fourth or fifth blow, flew from its hinges on one side, so as to admit two men

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abreast, but not in an upright posture. Young, supported by two of his little fellows, instantly dashed through the opening, closely followed by Shore and the rest of the party, and at this moment the fate of the gallant leader of the attack was nearly sealed. As he rushed on without having time to look about him, in order to allow his immediate supporters to get through the opening, a man sprang from the corner in the rear of him, and aimed a desperate blow at the back of his neck, which would most assuredly have killed him, but the quick eye of Shore, who had just reared his tall form, after bolting through the aperture, instantly saw his friend's danger, and with the full swing of his sword he sent the lifeless trunk of the Goojur bounding past Young. The tulwar, however, descended where it had been aimed; but the arm which impelled it was already paralyzed and nerveless from Shore's mortal blow, and a bruise and a blue mark on Young's neck were the only consequences of the murderous attempt.

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The bloody conflict was soon over; the rebels fought desperately, and died game; but in a few minutes the bayonet and the khokery decided the contest; and those of the enemy who thought discretion the better part of valour, dropped from the walls and escaped, with the exception of a few who were cut up by the police sowars outside. During this brilliant affair, an athletic and gigantic Pehlwan suddenly confronted Shore on the flat roof of a house communicating with the ramparts. He was perfectly naked, with the exception of a slip of cloth over his loins, and had painted himself gaily and fantastically for this his last battle. He was armed with a sword and shield, and had evidently made up his mind to a bloody bier, but not without desperate strife, so long as he had power to wield his blade. He scornfully addressed his antagonist, as they mutually advanced to meet each other: "What, you too have turned sipahee, and come to fight the Goojurs!" The next instant their swords

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flashed in the setting sun, and the struggle commenced. Shore was fighting at a great disadvantage, his shield having been rendered nearly useless by the loss of the corded handle by which it is held; and he was therefore obliged to grasp instead the two small rings to which the handle had been attached. At this moment, Young ascended the steps leading from the court below, and instantly levelled his Manton at the Goojur's breast; the first barrel flashed in the pan, but a ball from the second struck the centre of his chest, just as he was making a desperate cut at his adversary. The blade swept on, however, under Shore's shield, and gashed his side, but its force was gone; the Pehlwan's sword clove the air like a lightning flash, when his sinewy arm first whirled it, whistling on its deadly errand; but the ball had entered his vitals at that instant, and the sword of his gallant opponent, which was descending at the moment, felled him lifeless on the terrace. Shore knew nothing of the

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Manton ball, for his back was towards Young; nor does it in the smallest degree detract from his conspicuous gallantry.

The loss of the detachment in this dashing affair was one havildar and five sepoys killed, one soobadar, one jumadar and twenty-nine sepoys wounded, of whom six died in consequence of their wounds. The enemy, however, suffered in the proportion of six or seven to one; and this formidable gang was completely broken and dispersed. Had not these prompt and energetic measures been resorted to, the intention of the insurgents was to have attacked and plundered the town and station of Seharunpore; and considering how the disaffected and dissolute would have swelled their ranks, and the very small force opposed to them at that place, there is little doubt that they would have succeeded in their object.

The principal outlaw, Begee Sing, (and for whose head a reward had been offered), was killed during the assault, and his head placed on a pole in front of the jail at Deyrah. The



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notorious Kour, however, made good his retreat, but was afterwards apprehended and hanged at Seharunpore. After remaining some days in the district, the gallant little detachment of the Goorkhas returned to their cantonment.

The following is an extract of a letter from the Secretary to Government, which was forwarded to Captain Young on this occasion, by the Adjutant-General of the army:

"His Lordship in Council desires me to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that government view with high approbation the conduct of the detachment employed on this occasion. The zeal and promptitude evinced by Captain Young are highly creditable to him, and the support he received from Lieutenant Debude entitles that officer to much praise. His Excellency is accordingly requested to communicate these the sentiments of government to the parties. The Governor General in Council also requests that Captain Young may be au-

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thorized to communicate to his little Goorkhas, on parade, the approbation of government for their steadiness and bravery. The meritorious conduct of the gentlemen of the civil service will be noticed in the proper department."

The following are extracts from the division order issued by Sir Thomas Reynell, commanding the division:

"Major-General Reynell performs a most gratifying duty in acquainting the division, that a very brilliant service was achieved on the 3rd instant by a detachment of three hundred and fifty men of the Sirmoor battalion under the personal command of Captain Young, supported by a party of sowars under the direction of the Honourable Mr. Shore, of the Civil Service.

"In a conflict of this nature, it was but natural to expect that considerable loss would be sustained on both sides; but the Major-General is most happy to find that the insurgents have suffered on a scale of six to one.



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"Mr. Shore has been wounded by sabre-cuts on both breasts, after performing feats of valour, and displaying exertions in the cause, which entitle him to the applause of those who have the power of bestowing it.

"The Major-General requests that Captain Young will accept his best acknowledgments for the able and decided manner in which he conducted this service, and that he will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers and sepoys, who acted under his orders, the admiration with which he views their loyal, steady, and spirited behaviour in their first advance upon the insurgents, and in the subsequent successful assault of the fort of Koonja.

"Captain Young will also be good enough to assure Lieutenant Debude and Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Royle, of his sense of their zealous and active exertions upon this occasion; and in the event of any individual of the corps having particularly distinguished himself, the Major-General requests to receive his name and rank,

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that he may bring the same to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief."

Two jumadars, two naiks, and six sepoys were promoted in general orders for this distinguished gallantry.

The Court of Directors also expressed their applause in the following paragraph:

"Captain Young, Lieutenant Debude, and Doctor Royle are entitled to great approbation for the distinguished zeal and gallantry displayed by them on the occasion described in this paragraph; and we much approve of the promotion with which you have rewarded the bravery and attachment of the Goorkha troops employed under their command.

"The very gallant and distinguished conduct of the Honourable Mr. Shore will be noticed in another department."

In January 1825, the Sirmoor battalion was again increased to ten companies, and in No-

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vember of the same year, a party of two hundred picked men, with the proportion of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, was directed to proceed to Bhurtpore under the command of Lieutenant and Adjutant Fisher. I will not occupy these pages with a detailed account of their actions during the siege; they were attached to the division of their old commander, Sir Jasper Nicols; were almost daily employed in "feeling parties" during the early stage of the proceedings; they covered the advance in extended order on the morning the gardens were taken possession of to enable the engineers to break ground, and latterly were stationed generally with a company of Her Majesty's 59th regiment, in the last angle of the trenches, on the edge of the ditch, within a few yards of the left breach. Here their principal employment was "sniping" over the parapet at the enemy on the walls in front, whenever a turban showed itself, or a matchlock was cautiously protruded through the openings in the timbers with which the breach was

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barricaded; and many a "good shot" was the result of their practice.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to witness the extreme good-fellowship and kindly feeling with which the Europeans and the Goorkhas mutually regarded each other. A six-foot-two grenadier of the 59th would offer a cheroot to the "little Gorkee," as he styled him, the latter would take it from him with a grin; and when his tall and patronizing comrade stooped down with a lighted segar in his mouth, the little mountaineer never hesitated a moment in puffing away at it with the one just received—no qualms of conscience or feeling of contamination, although generally high-cast Hindoos; and they were consequently patted on the back and called "prime chaps."

On the morning of the storm they were directed, on the signal being given, to extend to the flanks on the edge of the glacis, and cover the advance of the storming party; they accordingly took their station in the trenches at the head of the column of attack, but a

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few minutes previous to the explosion of the mine, which was the thundering and earthquake signal to storm, the order was countermanded, and they were directed to follow in after the gallant 59th. These directions were obeyed, with the exception of going in *with* them instead of *after* them; for when the British grenadiers with a deafening "hurra" made their maddening rush at the breach, at that glorious and soul-stirring moment it was impossible to restrain them, and they dashed into the thick of it.

I could give many instances of individual gallantry, but it is sufficient to record that on the breaking up of the army, the little Goorkhas had gained the confidence and esteem of their superiors, and the hearty good-will of the European troops, with whom they generally acted, and with whom they were encamped. I must, however, mention that on the morning after the storm, they returned the flattering partiality of the latter by the following characteristic remark: "The Europeans are brave as lions, they are

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splendid Sipahees, and *very nearly* equal to us !"

This may sound ludicrous enough, but *esprit de corps* and national confidence in their own stubborn courage, are the natural and distinguishing peculiarities of Goorkha sepoys, and all I can say is, it would take many a bloody and disastrous field to thrash the feeling out of them. About this period the Sirmoor battalion was again reduced to eight companies of eighty men, those in excess being borne on the rolls as supernumeraries.

The Goorkha corps are armed with fusils instead of muskets: their dress is the same pattern as that of the sepoys of the line, colour green, with black facings, and black belts, green chako, and bronzed ornaments. The distinguishing peculiarity in their equipment is the khokery. This is the private property of the sepoy, and is slung on the left side in rear of the bayonet, the waist-belt securing both. It is held in general and deserved estimation by the Goorkhas, is a most useful weapon at all



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times, and at close quarters in action a most dangerous and deadly one. The khokery is shaped like a curved knife, narrow near the handle, and curving inwards, the blade varying from fourteen to sixteen inches in length, and two and half inches wide at its broadest part. The case in which it is contained is likewise furnished with various useful articles, viz.: a couple of small knives, a pair of scissors, needle and thread, tweezers, and the requisite apparatus for striking a light, and in the use of which the Goorkhas are remarkably expert, the white cotton-like bark of a tree common in these mountains supplying them with the tinder, which, when prepared and dried in the sun, ignites by the first spark from the flint. A Goorkha soldier, therefore, with a gun on his shoulder and the khokery by his side, is, in his native islands, independent of a commissariat, and when hard pushed for a meal can shoot a deer, light a fire, and cut fuel to cook his dinner; and it was by means of this useful weapon that the stockades were so rapidly

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erected during the Nepaul war, in the capture of which so many lives were generally sacrificed.

The genuine Goorkha is recognised by his high cheek bones, broad Tartar features, small elongated eyes, and the total absence of whisker or moustache, with the exception of a few straggling hairs on the upper lip, cherished with great care. As a race they are considerably below the average height of the natives of Hindostan; broad-chested, and bull-necked; and the muscles of the thigh and leg are so enormously developed as in some instances to appear somewhat preposterous and unnatural. Many of them, however, are in point of muscular form a perfect study for a statuary. They are capable of enduring great fatigue, and in their constant sporting excursions amongst the heavy and savage forests of the Dhoon, or to the banks of the Jumna or Ganges with their fishing tackle, perform journeys which would almost appear incredible to a European pedestrian, particularly, as on their return they have generally a heavy load of venison or fish, slung on their shoul-

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ders. The Goorkhas are passionately fond of the sports of the field, and indeed are accustomed to feed their families at Deyrah, in a great measure, on game, the hard earned trophies of many a toilsome journey and dangerous enterprise. The pay of the privates is only five rupees eight annas; and were it not for their sporting propensities they would find some difficulty in feeding the many hungry mouths which each hut contains, for they are generally married men with a troop of young highlanders dependent on them. It is principally attributable to those habits that so many expert marksmen are to be found in the ranks of the Sirmoor battalion. The mere routine of a few weeks' practice at the target will never form many "good shots," although superintended with the utmost zeal and attention, because the greater proportion of the men look upon it as a species of task and parade at the best. But when the sportsman starts on his journey before break of day, with four or five charges only of *his own* powder and ball, and

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feels that on the results of these few shots depend on his return the cheerful and smiling welcome of those dear to him, or the jeers of his comrades and the disappointed looks of the good dame and his sanguine family, it follows as a matter of course that he does his utmost to make every ball not only strike the object which he fires at, but to hit it in a mortal and deadly part, so as to render a further indent on his little store unnecessary. On this principle if a small portion of the practice ball ammunition was given to the men instead of being expended at the butt, it would be a great assistance to them, and would yield an ample reward in securing expert marksmen.

During these rambles amidst the almost impervious forests of the Dhoon, the little fellows sometimes suffer from the gripe of a tiger or the loving embrace of a bear; but it would be hard on that account to prevent their occasionally indulging in such excursions.

As illustrative of the Goorkha character, I give the following facts:—

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A tiger had been seen within a few miles of Deyrah, and Colonel Young (then captain), accompanied by Colonel Childers of Her Majesty's 11th dragoons, mounted an elephant and hastened to the spot. They, however, were unsuccessful in rousing him; and after a long and tedious search were quietly returning home. A Goorkha sepoy was following the elephant with his fusil over his shoulder, when he suddenly dropped on one knee, and presented his piece as if in the act to fire. Having, however, roused the attention of the gentlemen, he did not pull the trigger, but kept his fusil fixed in the same position. He had suddenly caught sight of the fiery eyes of the tiger, who was crouched amongst the underwood close to the path, and within three paces of the muzzle of his gun: in this situation they steadily regarded each other. The elephant was immediately pushed up as close as possible to the kneeling Goorkha, and neither of the sportsmen could succeed in catching a glimpse of the animal. In order, if possible, to observe

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the direction more accurately, Captain Young called out, "recover arms." The sepoy came to the recover as calmly and collectedly as if on his own parade. "Present!" down went the fusil again, and remained motionless as its object; this was repeated, but still the tiger was invisible. Captain Young exclaimed, "That gallant fellow shall not be left unassisted;" and in a moment dropped from the elephant and placed himself close to the sepoy. He looked along the levelled barrel, but to no purpose; the brute was not to be distinguished. Cocking his gun, therefore, he told the Goorkha to fire; there was a terrific roar, a forward rush for one instant, and all was still. When the smoke and dust cleared away, there lay the tiger perfectly dead. The ball had struck the centre of his forehead, and entered his brain.

The Goorkha sepoys are very tractable; and to illustrate their general good conduct, and the ease with which they are managed by those acquainted with their habits and character, it is

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only requisite to mention that there has only been one court-martial in the Sirmoor battalion for a period of nearly seven years.

They are in disposition exceedingly hasty and irritable, and generally act from the impulse of the moment; but such feelings evaporate at once with the explosion, and neither sulkiness nor revenge is the result.

They are addicted to gambling, and thoughtless and improvident in money matters; too much in the habit of "spending half-a-crown out of sixpence a day."

On occasions of festivity they indulge pretty freely in the use of ardent spirits; but I never knew an instance of a Goorkha sepoy being drunk on parade, or on duty of any kind. Notwithstanding their habits of free living, they are exceedingly superstitious, and make long and arduous journeys to propitiate the numerous deities which preside over every towering peak and thundering cataract of their native mountain, possessing at the same time a

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thorough highland belief in witchcraft and all its mysteries.

I may here mention that at the Hindoo festival of the Dussera, there is a peculiarity in the observance of the ceremony, which is I believe entirely confined to this race, viz. : the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes as an offering at the rural shrine erected for the purpose on the last day of the holiday. On this occasion a number of goats and two or three buffaloes, three parts grown, are collected around the rude altar on the parade; the horns and heads of the animals are painted, and garlands of flowers hung round their necks. As soon as the accustomed rites have been performed by the attendant priests, the slaughter commences, amidst the firing of cannon and fusils. The heads of the goats are invariably severed from the neck with the utmost care by one blow from the khokery, but the dexterity of the feat consists in not only cutting through the thickest part of the neck, but severing both forelegs with the same stroke.

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The sacrifice of the buffaloes then commences, and the most expert swordsman is chosen, who, after various incantations, advances to his post; and I have seen every muscle of his firmly-knit frame tremble with anxiety ere the sword was raised to strike.

In general two strokes are required to separate the head from the body, but I have on two or three occasions seen the neck of a three parts grown bull buffalo fairly cut asunder by the first blow. The Goorkhas (men, women, and children) then rub their hands and feet in the blood as it gushes from the headless trunk, or in some instances content themselves with dipping their fingers in it, and smearing their arms and foreheads.

The highlanders do not wear their European costume with that jaunty air which is often perceptible in the sepoys of the plains, and require a good deal of attention in this respect, as they are inclined to be slovenly in their dress, although unusually active and energetic in their movements.

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The Goorkhas originally enrolled in the ranks of the Sirmoor battalion, are fast disappearing, and as they become invalided generally "turn their swords into ploughshares," and are the most industrious cultivators hitherto settled in the Dhoon, their energy of character being perceptible even as husbandmen. Notwithstanding the extreme and proverbial jealousy of the Nepaul government, the relations of the sepoys in our service now and then elude the vigilance of their parent state, and many real Nepaulese have from time to time been enlisted; but the principal source from which the ranks are recruited is from amongst the offspring of the old soldiers. These are in many instances (to use a sporting expression) "thorough bred," but generally the result of a marriage between a Goorkha and a woman from the interior of the Hills. The breed is a most promising one, however; the lads are good-looking, smart in their dress, and having been trained from their boyish days in military habits, and aspiring

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from year to year to the honour of carrying a fusil in the ranks of a corps with which they feel themselves identified, they are particularly quick in attaining a knowledge of their duties. Indeed the principal amusement of the little broad-faced urchins who crowd the lines, is "playing at soldiers" and aping their seniors in the performance of the "manual and platoon" and light infantry manœuvres. Little fellows of three and four years of age draw up to the side of the road when an officer passes, and salute him with a dignity and solemnity perfectly edifying.

With such materials, therefore, to select from as vacancies occur in the ranks, there is little fear that the Sirmoor battalion will degenerate; and when an opportunity is again furnished, there can be no doubt that the "little Goorkhas" will maintain their character, and gather fresh laurels wherewith to adorn their cherished garland.

In commemoration of the affair at Koonja,

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the Honourable Mr. Shore presented the corps with a magnificent "battering ram," constructed on scientifie principles, and the head and curved horns covered with a thick plate of brass. This stands in front of the quarter guard, and on occasions of festivity is gaily painted and festooned with flowers.

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# APPENDIX.

## A.

### THE MEMORIAL OF SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY, TO THE HON. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

Honourable Sirs,

After serving the East India Company nearly half a century, I now approach you, on relinquishing employment, to place in your hands a defence of the only part of my official conduct which has ever met with public reprehension.

Having lost the confidence and incurred the censure of the present Governor-General in Council, for adopting measures hostile to the recent usurpation of the

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sovereignty of Bhurtpore, I feel myself reduced to the alternative of tacitly acknowledging error, or of openly charging my superior with injustice. I come prepared, in consequence, to shew that my proceedings were not only expedient in themselves and demanded by the circumstances of the period, to maintain the honour and tranquillity of the state, but fully sanctioned by the same government which has since condemned them without reservation. In protesting against acts which followed this disavowal of my procedure, I hope also to exonerate my character and memory from the just reproach, which might otherwise await the unwilling agent of a transaction in which the British government shrunk from an important duty, and for a time abandoned the high station that it had obtained in India. I shall, therefore, proceed first to advert briefly to those principles which have hitherto been recognised in our relations with Indian States; next to the disposition of the public mind when I was called on to decide; and lastly, to the affairs of Bhurtpore which led to my interference as a political functionary and military commander.

1st.—Were it not for the doctrine solemnly inculcated by his Lordship in Council, that "the will of the chiefs and people" is to be consulted when their sovereign solicits the aid of his acknowledged para-

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mount, I should deem it superfluous to mention the fact of all these Hindoo or Mahommedan principalities being pure despotisms. The voice of the people has not yet been heard in the East. Without a legislative organ to give it utterance, or the last conception of their inherent right to appoint and control their rulers, the allegiance of the multitude is readily yielded to the strongest, nor am I aware that the nobility have any admitted privileges. They may offer the advice of servants to a master, but on no occasion can they dictate or legislate for themselves or community. Ambitious and equally devoid of patriotism and loyalty, these chiefs, so far from supporting order, are the constant instigators of internal discord, unable at the same time to reconcile the jarring pretensions they were wont to effect, or accompany changes of administration with bloodshed and convulsion. Among such nobles and peasantry in their state of society, no usurper, however flagitious, if possessed of wealth, need want abettors in seizing the rights of another. The ever-recurring evils to which the native states are liable, when left to themselves, are attested by the former history of India, in which the tranquil reign of a minor is scarcely on record. Still, conscious of the existence of this turbulent and predatory inclination in their powerful subjects, the princes acknowledging our supremacy have sought

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our guarantee for the peace of their dominions and the continuation of their dynasties. Hence, the origin of the paramount authority which the British government has exercised for these last ten years. The compact thus established has proved highly beneficial to the contracting parties, and the maintenance of it now, is equally essential to the dignity of the superior and the safety of the rest. Engagements being entered into in each case with the Prince for himself and his heirs exclusively, any interruption of the recognised line of succession, necessarily annuls the agreement. No legislature nor constitution upholds the faith of the nation distinct from the sovereign, in a community which submits to him precisely like an army to its commander. Good policy, therefore, as well as humanity, requires us imperatively to support those rights which we have acknowledged. In all the treaties it is stipulated that the enemies of one state shall be the enemies of the other, without admitting any exception of domestic conspiracy endangering or subverting the sway of our allies. The distinction, indeed, between foreign and civil war in India, where factions generally extend through several states, must ever prove virtually nugatory. In the last treaty of 1805, with Bhurtpore, the first clause of the seventh article guarantees the protection of the Maharajah's territory from enemies generally, while another promises troops to oppose



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external hostility. Thus, if our obligations are to be literally construed, I should certainly question the accuracy of the Governor-General's interpretation of this document, in the letter which he dictated on the 2nd of April. But this treaty is, I admit, little applicable to present times, since it was concluded long anterior to the assumption and acknowledgment of our general supremacy. As the fact of Bhurtpore being one of the protected principalities seems fully allowed in the Secretary's despatch of the 1st of October, I need not enlarge on the subject further than to state that when one of these Princes solicits a khelaut from any government, he intends to make an open cession of the imperial right in exchange for the protection which the investiture implies and promises. It is equivalent to the ancient European formality of doing homage to a superior. The paramount power exercised in this country by the government of Fort William, appears in its very essence to incur the same obligations, and to demand the same obedience as in the feudal system of Europe, from which the term is taken. The present voluntary submission of the Indian States, prompted by motives similar to what occasioned the surrender of all ideal possessions, gives their condition, in regard to relative duties many points of resemblance with that of hereditary fiefs under lords paramount, as they formerly existed in the west. Although interfe-

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rence with the internal affairs of such governments seems disclaimed by the Governor-General in the instance to be considered, I had not long before been instructed by his Lordship in Council, that the Rao Rajah of Ulwar, if proved guilty of instigating the attempted assassination of his neighbour the Nawaub Ahmed Buksh Khan, ought to be deprived of his sovereignty. This right of deprivation, which appears unquestionably to involve every other, not to go beyond the limits of my own jurisdiction, has been twice exercised during my administration of the affairs of Central India. The Governor-General in Council, in these cases most justly abrogated the birthright of the heirs apparent of Pertaub Ghur and of Nursing Ghur, who, for committing detestable murders while both possessed sovereign power delegated to them by the Rajahs, were divested of the inheritance of their ancestors. From facts like these, it is obvious that the mere letter of a treaty, when such interposes, or the international law of more enlightened regions never prevents the British government from acting decisively on the enlarged principle of moral justice for the well-being of communities.

Let it be remembered that Bhurtpore, also a protected state, differs in no essential particular from Ulwar, Nursing Ghur, or Pertaub Ghur, on its relatives with the Paramount government. And after attending to



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the agitated condition of the country, when the standard of rebellion was raised within its capital, your Honourable Court will be enabled to form an opinion of the course which it behoved me to pursue, as the first political and military authority on the spot.

2nd.—The British empire in India is often pronounced to be founded, more than any other, on opinion. By which I understand a belief in the governed, that the wisdom, resources, but above all, the military strength of their rulers, remains unexhausted and invincible. At least it is certainly this unwelcome faith, which, among us, represses the hope of discontented millions, and retains them in quiet subjection. About the time in question, however, unpropitious occurrences tended greatly to diminish the awe of our subjects, and to engender in their minds increasing suspicions of our stability. The protraction, the difficulties, and chiefly, the reverses of the Burmese war, exaggerated to caricature, but not the less fondly, were widely circulated, and, no doubt, influential in producing several inconsiderable commotions. These circumstances gave plausibility to artful enemies when they predicted our downfall; the people in many parts of the country were made to believe Calcutta was taken by the Burmans, and the members of government fled to Europe. The more intelligent who might have discredited such tales were yet led into similar error by palpable appearances.

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Troops continually moving towards the scene of hostilities until the Upper Provinces seemed left defenceless, and the unwonted spectacle of ammunition and arms from the distant magazines of Delhi and Agra descending the rivers in fleets of boats, appeared undeniable indications of weakness and retrogression. It is no disgrace to the East India Company that their sway is disliked by all their ambitious and warlike subjects. These long for the revival of that anarchy which, among other high excitements, gave every man of courage the hope of rising from insignificance to pre-eminence.

The security guaranteed to life and property by the present order of things is no compensation to such characters for the loss of prospects like these. Men of this description having now succeeded to an alarming extent in magnifying our disasters and underrating our remaining means of upholding authority, nothing but a daring leader, possessed of treasure, was wanting to array any number of an armed population against us. At this important crisis the eyes of all were turned to Bhurtpore, a fort which Lord Lake was foiled in attempting to capture. It has, in consequence, for these last twenty years, been the opprobium of British arms, and the rallying point of disaffection to our domination throughout India. Those who regard military glory as the noblest portion of a nation's strength, and the assertion of it as the paramount duty of a soldier,

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will comprehend my motives in preparing to assail rather than hang on the defensive, and for seeking to resent with promptitude an outrageous affront from the possessor of a strong-hold whose boasted name implied the disgrace of the army to which I belong.

3d. The circumstances of the case which I come now to detail, were in themselves sufficiently aggravated to call for condign punishment on the aggressor.

On the 27th August, 1824, I transmitted to government the request of Buldeo Sing, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, that his only son, Bulwant Sing, a boy about six years of age, might be publicly recognised as his heir apparent. An answer, dated October the 1st, was received from the Secretary in the Political Department, signifying the ready compliance of the Governor-General in Council with the Rajah's wishes, which I was accordingly directed to fulfil, provided the child proved undoubtedly to be his son. As I had already ascertained and reported the relationship of the heir to the reigning Prince, this cautious qualification of the order, impressed my mind with full conviction not only of his Lordship's having authorized the recognition of the Rajah's son, but of his knowledge that the British government, in the very words of the letter, thereby committed itself to support him. Such at least is the most obvious interpretation of my instructions. But considerable delay occurring on account of other busi-

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ness, I took occasion in writing to the Secretary on the 5th of November, to inform him expressly that Buldeo Sing's anxiety for the speedy acknowledgment of his heir, proceeded from the infirm state of his own health, and his anticipation of some attempt to disturb the minority of his lineal successor.

This communication concluded by intimating my intention to recognise the boy Bulwant Sing, by investing him in the appropriate manner agreeably to "the orders received." Now, if not before, the Governor-General was made perfectly aware, not merely of the construction put upon his directions, but of what I had resolved to do in consequence. Nor had I concealed the probability that rebellion might await the accession of a Prince whom I was proceeding to receive under the protection of his Lordship's government. No prohibitory orders, nor any disapprobation of this announced resolution, was issued to me during three months that elapsed before it would have been too late to correct error.

The ceremony of recognition, thus long postponed, at last took place at Bhurtpore on the 6th of January, 1825.

On this occasion the residency surgeon had, by invitation, a long interview with the Rajah, at which he found no reason to think him in imminent danger, but, on the contrary, was of opinion that his complaints were curable under the treatment of an European physician. I did

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not, however, omit to recommend through his confidential Vakeel, the propriety of nominating a regency to act eventually for the minor heir. But the subject was thought of a delicate nature, and besides, being probably opposed to a superstitious notion, the Rajah dreaded the impolicy of creating expectants of power who could not desire the enjoyment of it, without at the same time wishing his death.

On the 5th of March, Rajah Buldeo Sing died, from over exerting himself in one of the observances of his religion. Before expiring, he caused some of his principal officers to be sworn in the most solemn manner to maintain the right of his son. I am not aware that he could have done more at any period of his reign. Bulwant Sing, the acknowledged successor, was instantly proclaimed without opposition, but not many days afterwards Doorjun Sal, the deceased Rajah's nephew, who, according to established usage, was second in the line of succession after the issue of his uncle, began to collect a band of mercenaries, mostly, if not entirely, unconnected with the principality—with these he entered the town, and blew open a gate of the Fort, of which he took possession, murdering as many of the inhabitants as he found it expedient to remove. The next step taken by this person, was to assume without disguise the style and attributes of sovereignty. Knowing his whole procedure to be an insolent defiance of the

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paramount state, his sole hope of success and impunity was founded on our supposed inability to oppose him by force of arms. In consequence, few preparations were made to defend the place. Having found sixteen lacs of rupees in one of the bastions, he had little difficulty in gaining over part, and neutralizing the rest, of an army, of which the men are chiefly aliens. The young Rajah, meanwhile, having been carried by his father's friends into the private apartments of the palace, where the bulk of the public treasure was lodged, he remained there, guarded by five hundred of the faithful troops.

I foresaw, however, that Doorjun Sal must soon be master, and disposed to extend his power with increasing means. Such was the posture of affairs when the adherents of the lawful Prince demanded the assistance of the British government. I conceived their right to it indisputable. I felt the contempt of our authority manifested in this quarter, and believed that the identical circumstance which led Doorjun Sal to think rebellion safe, carried with it danger to us. My fears had no other source. For notwithstanding the opinion of government that the determined foe whom I was about to irritate, might employ his forces to interrupt the agriculture and commerce of the British Empire in India, I am certain that the entire army of Bhurtpore united would not venture beyond its walls to attack



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three regiments of the Company's sepoys. The strength of Doorjun Sal lay in the renown of his fortress, which, according to the calculation that I was enabled to make, on sufficient information, could not, in the hot season, hold out above ten days against the means which we had still at command. During two thirds of the year, indeed, the immense ditch, its most formidable defence, can be filled to the brim with water from an adjoining lake. At the time when I should have attacked the place it was perfectly dry, and could not be replenished. The season is no doubt unfavourable to Europeans, who are unavoidably exposed to the sun; yet many of our most brilliant operations, in former times, as well as latterly, were conducted under the same disadvantages. A better opportunity and a juster cause can seldom concur, in affording an opportunity of retrieving the honour of an army. But although these considerations rendered me equally eager and confident of success, my conduct was materially influenced by the spirit of the times on other accounts. After being appealed to in the name of the young Rajah, a moment of hesitation or inactivity on my part would have sanctioned the usurpation, delivered an ally whom we were bound to protect into the hands of an unscrupulous traitor, avowed the helplessness of the British government, and permitted the tocsin of insurrection to be sounded throughout Upper India. Could the Governor-

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General in Council for a moment imagine that during his unpromising contest with the Burmese, greater risk would be incurred by encountering this hostility in the germ, than by waiting many months for a period of leisure to make the attack when disaffection, extending its ramifications through a favouring soil, must have risen to the maturity of its strength? Had my supineness permitted such a crisis to arrive, on whose head would his Lordship have charged the eventual loss of the country he governs? At the distance of nearly a thousand miles from the seat of government, my responsibility was appalling. But I conceived that wise policy required the movement of an immense population to be prevented, without trusting to the future possibility of arresting its progress, after the impulse had augmented its original power a hundredfold. I decided, accordingly, on immediate interference. A proclamation was issued, denouncing Doorjun Sal as a usurper, and calling on the people of Bhurtpore to continue in their allegiance. At the same time, I put in motion the disposable force of my own division of the army: obtaining the cordial assistance of Major-Generals Reynell and Sir Gabriel Martindell, I was enabled in the course of three weeks to assemble eight thousand men, including three European regiments, with one hundred pieces of artillery. To the most sanguine of our enemies these appeared

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to evince overwhelming resources, which, from being thought extinct, now seemed ready to make Bhurtpore, the bulwark of their hopes, an opportune example to the rest of India. Such was the effect of this apparent revival of fallen power, that I entertained reasonable expectations of seeing our high duties discharged, and most of the manifold advantages of capturing the fort secured even without shedding blood. Before any of our troops had yet entered the territory of Bhurtpore, Doorjun Sal renounced his assumed title, entreating my consent to his being made Moocktear, or Regent. He desired to come to my tent, in order to deliver the young Rajah in safety to the representative of the protecting government. He put no limits to professions of humility, and, in truth, so far from thinking of resistance, his highest hopes were now of mercy and favour through the indulgence of those whom he had offended. But a sudden change awaited the character of the negociation which he opened on these terms, equally unexpected to both parties. While it was pending, the reply of the Governor-General in Council to my report of the usurpation, and of the consequent proceedings in contemplation, reached me by express at Muttra. This document will be found to contain the disavowal and unqualified condemnation of whatever I had done or projected, to maintain the honour of my country at a critical exigency. It con-

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veyed not merely an absolute prohibition to advance, but a positive order to retreat, although it were in the face of the enemy. It directed me to disband the troops immediately, who were to return to respective stations. I was further commanded to make a full recantation of error, by recalling the proclamations which Doorjun Sal, a usurper, had invited the people of Bhurtpore to uphold their hereditary Prince. I ventured to delay ten days, with the view of possibly averting some of the degradation that must follow obedience to such orders. But the altered tone which I had to use, and most likely the intelligence of the reproof which I received, frustrated every effort to obtain the concessions that Doorjun Sal at one time offered voluntarily. The troops were accordingly disbanded and dispersed. The usurper was by these measures left in peaceable possession of the power which he had seized by criminal and insulting violence, at liberty to resume the title, and to dispose of the young Rajah as he saw fit. I was entirely divested of authority to interfere.

As government must have been guided by information of which I know not the source, it were vain to conjecture the cause of the vacillation and infirmity of purpose that it has manifested throughout this transaction. After the business was over and finished, as I have just related, a novel view of the subject seemed to open to the Governor-General. The next

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letter, dispatched seventeen days posterior to the date of the one directing the immediate dismissal of the troops, commanded me to detain them, and to defend the dominions of the Honourable Company against the anticipated invasion of the new Rajah Doorjun Sal, whom I had unwarrantably provoked. A Prince of Homberg making war on an Emperor of Germany could not sound more strangely in the ears of an Austrian, than did the alarm of his Lordship in mine; yet it is very possible that the personage so much overrated now, when he shall have had time to perfect his usurpation, strengthen his fortifications, and revive the spirit of general disaffection, may one day make a formidable defence, or act like a torch on the combustible materials of our Empire. But in defending my official reputation, still dear, since little else remains to me, I must be allowed to recapitulate the wrongs which I have suffered in conjunction with the honour of the state. Upon a review of the whole transactions, the procedure of the Governor-General in Council must appear marked with inconsistency—because, he first dictated and afterwards condemned the same measures; with impolicy, because he deserted the post of a paramount state, when there was least danger in maintaining it; and with violation of public faith, because I had officially pledged his Lordship to protect the Prince whom he abandoned.

If any casuistry can reconcile the instructions of the

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1st of October, 1824, with the sentiments professed on the 2nd of April, 1825, it must implicate the authors still more deeply. Did the Governor-General command or expect his representative to use the gentle language of admonition to a rebellious marauder, yet holding the reeking weapon in his hand, and to ask friendly explanation of the same criminal when he had openly usurped the throne of a sovereign under British protection? If it was meant that I should address him in the authoritative language becoming our station and his acts, in order to produce intimidation without employing force, the result would have been equally discreditable. Doorjun Sal, and too many of his countrymen, believed us no longer capable of exercising the paramount power. Was I directed to subvert his belief of the imbecility of government by threatening punishment for his past offences, and yet forbearing to inflict it if he persisted in crime? A greater miscalculation is hardly conceivable of the springs of action among a people who are prone, under any circumstances, to suspect forbearance originating in weakness. The affectation of forgiving virtue, while murder and usurpation cry for vengeance, has nothing to expect but derision from the natives of India. But my part in the drama was now at an end. The virtual disavowal of all which I had done, and not less the opposite line of conduct that I was compelled to adopt by government, rendered the humiliation of my public

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character complete. I hastened, therefore, to resign a situation which could no longer be held with credit to myself, or advantage to my employers. The loss of authority from circumstances sufficiently known, was not in itself a subject of regret, had I been permitted to lay it down with honour, and on a fit occasion. But few days had elapsed, after I left the vicinity of Bhurtpore, when my eyes fairly opened to the predetermination of government to drive me to this extremity for no other intelligible purpose than to attach disgrace to my removal from office: orders in the same tone, on topics unconnected with Bhurtpore, reached me in succession. Had I on any occasion, where, hopeless of timely instructions, on account of the dilatoriness of official correspondence, made use of the customary discretion? What formerly insured me applause was now visited by reprobation. Now, in oblivion once more of his own commands, now in mortifying opposition to my public statements lying before him, the Governor-General in Council continued to fulminate censure on my devoted head, until the receipt of my resignation terminated a warfare which its promoters have apparently as much reason as I to deplore. I believe the foregoing narrative has sufficiently disclosed, without accounting for an extraordinary disregard in the part of government to the information which it receives from known and legitimate sources. An intelligent community would attribute this singu-

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larity to an agency seldom avowed, and of whose very existence direct proof is scarcely adducible. But from the open organization of the system lately in one department of the administration, it is reasonable to suppose that it may pervade the next in a less tangible and more revolting form. I should be forward to invite the scrutiny of honourable men into every act of my public life, but I deprecate whilst I despise, the whispered testimony of concealed witnesses, who, whatever their station, are to be classed by universal consent with the most infamous of mankind.

The Governor-General himself being still a stranger to India, and the management of an empire, the other members of government have their full share of responsibility. The absence of Mr. Adam, and the sentiments expressed by Sir Edward Paget, exempt them from any participation in these proceedings. Without the least inclination to deny the worth and general talents of his Lordship's remaining advisers, councillors or secretaries, I understand that their past services have precluded most of them from acquiring much personal knowledge of India, beyond the boundaries of our ancient factories. Are such functionaries, destitute of the pre-requisite experience, capable of forming expanded ideas of our foreign relations, or of directing the conduct of affairs when emergencies threaten the distant provinces?

Yet his Lordship was not inevitably subjected to the

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guidance of these gentlemen. He had other legitimate sources of intelligence, and depositories of confidence, whom the wisest of his predecessors have not disdained to trust, I mean his local representatives within their own jurisdictions. I hope not to appear presumptuous in claiming longer and more intimate acquaintance, than those who have judged me, with the political condition of Upper India including the State of Bhurtpore. For upwards of twenty years my post there has been sufficiently conspicuous, in some of the first political and military situations, to bring my competence full in the eye of a Governor-General, when active decision was demanded on the spot where I held the highest authority. His Lordship, therefore, might have learned from the public records that I was not ignorant how the dignity of the state had been maintained in former times of exigency and peril. If the Governor-General in Council suspected me of apathy and disregard to the public interest, the events of my life are equally incompatible with the imputation. I entered the service of the East India Company when this empire was yet in its cradle: and I have since borne my part during forty-seven years in the contests from which it has risen to supremacy. If there be any calculation on human sympathy, the most callous and phlegmatic will forbear to accuse, of indifference to the welfare of British India, one who has grown with its growth, and flourished in its verdure, until the pride of his existence

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must be interwoven, with its well being. To what, then, has the official character of a veteran servant been sacrificed with contumely? Consciousness of rectitude, in judgment and principle, impels me to ascribe the act to malice, mistaken and unworthy expediency, or to evidence that shuns the light. Whichever of these influenced its counsels, the government stands convicted of injustice. In concluding, I once more intreat your Honourable Court not to suppose that release from public duty would have been felt by me as a privation. I had, indeed, solicited permission to retire more than twelve months before the occurrence of these events, when I might have left the scenes of active life unattended by reproach, which from so high a quarter must tend, while unexplained, to degrade any individual in the estimation of my countrymen, and I may add of the humble millions who were wont to regard me with respect. This boon has been withheld for unavowed reasons, until its concession is calculated to deepen the obloquy, which a great government always expects to follow its disapprobation. Censured and abandoned in the path of just policy, my retirement is further embittered by the reflection that the last compulsory act of my long career, for a season, lowered the station and name of my country in the eyes of those princes, and people among whom I had for so many years striven to extend her glory and consolidate her power.

(Signed) D. OCHTERLONY.

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## B.

Major Cavanagh, who accompanied Jung Bahadoor on his mission to England, writes as follows in reference tothe army of Nepaul, and I have reason to believe his statements are correct.

In accordance with data which I have been enabled to collect from various sources, I am induced to estimate the strength of the Goorkha army as at the utmost 25,000 or 26,000 men, of which nearly two-thirds are attached to the regular battalions, and the remainder composed of local or irregular corps. It is extremely difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty the exact number of regiments, as, unlike those attached to the armies of European states, they bear no numbers, but are designated either by the names of Hindoo divinities, or according to some peculiar quality with which the soldiers of any particular battalion have the reputation of being endowed; and perhaps, occasionally, as is the cases with several of the corps of the Bengal army, after some distinguished officer by whom they may have been either raised or commanded. The following is a list of those regiments with whose names I have become acquainted either from having personally witnessed them on parade or heard them alluded to by members of the mission :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ram Dul, | Artillery. |
| Gunnès Dul, | ditto. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Rifle Regiment | Infantry. |
| Latter, | ,, |
| Sri Nath | ,, |
| Raj Dul, | ,, |
| Mor Indra Dul, | ,, |
| Sher Dul, | ,, |
| Kali Prasad (formerly Hanuman) Dul, | ,, |
| Ram Prithi Dul, | ,, |
| Debi Dul, | ,, |
| Jagat Dul, | ,, |
| Gorakh Nath, | ,, |
| Kali Baksh, | ,, |
| Sir bá doz, | ,, |
| Ba'zabani, | ,, |
| Ram Prya Dul, | ,, |
| Singhi Nath, | ,, |
| Naya Gorakh Nath, | ,, |
| Subz Dul, | ,, |
| Bhairav Nath, | ,, |
| Shumsher Dul, | ,, |
| Sri Mer, | ,, |
| Ran Sen, | ,, |
| Shah Baz, | ,, |
| Ballam Jung, | ,, |
| Suldar Jung, | ,, |
| Tarah Nath, | ,, |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Bathak Dul, | Infantry. |
| Chandi Baksh, | ,, |
| Sri Dut, | ,, |
| Gaur Baksh, | ,, |
| Channund Nath, | ,, |
| Sri Daman, | ,, |
| Samna Jung, | ,, |

A large force, consisting of sixteen regular and one irregular regiment, is stationed at the capital, Khatmandoo, and in its immediate vicinity, and, as far as I can judge, the remaining corps are distributed amongst the different posts and fortresses on the British and Thibet frontiers, as detailed below:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Palpa . . . | 2 | Regular, | 2 | Irregular. |
| Peutana . . . | 1 | ,, | | ,, |
| Saliana . . | 1 | ,, | | ,, |
| Sil Gurhee . . | 2 | ,, | | ,, |
| Jamba (Thibet) . | 2 | ,, | | ,, |
| Opudheea Gurhee . | ,, | ,, | 1 | ,, |
| Seesa Gurhee . | ,, | ,, | 1 | ,, |
| Muckwanpore . . | 1 | ,, | | ,, |
| Hurreehurpoo . | ,, | ,, | 1 | ,, |
| Sinda Gurhee . . | 1 | ,, | | ,, |
| Dhankoota . . | 1 | ,, | | ,, |
| Chowdanda . . | | ,, | 1 | ,, |
| Khutta Bunga (Terai) | 2 | ,, | | ,, |

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The strength of regiments, more especially of those employed on police duties which are, in some instances, 1000 strong, varies; but the average of that corps of the line may be fairly calculated at six hundred Sepoys. With the exception of one or two regiments, the complement of commissioned and non-commissioned officers is on an extremely limited scale, not consisting of more than one captain, one lieutenant, one subahdar, six jumadars, six havildars and six naiks to a battalion of six companies.

The Commander-in-chief is assisted by a staff of nine or ten general officers and colonels, each of whom commands two or three regiments, a major (styled burra captain) and a burra-adjutant or adjutant-general, whose duties appear in a great measure confined to the issue in a loud tone of the words of command on the occasion of a grand review. The emoluments appertaining to the command of the army, derived principally from the annual gifts presented by the sirdars and soldiery, amount to about a lac of rupees per annum; the pay of officers of the higher ranks is not apparently regulated by any fixed standard, but depends entirely on the favor or caprice of the prime minister, the rates of that granted to those of the lower grades, to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, are according to the following scale:—

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| | Nepaul rupees per annum. |
|---|---|
| Captains . . . | 3,000 to 4,000 |
| Lieutenants . . . | 1,500 to 3,000 |
| Subahdars . . . | 1,000 to 1,500 |
| Jumadars . . . | 400 to 1,000 |
| Havildars and Naiks . | 200 to 600 |
| Sepoys . . . . | 100 to 300 |

In addition to which, all ranks are furnished every seventh or eighth year with a suit of uniform and also receive from the state the distinctive ornaments worn in the turban. It must, however, be understood that of the sums noted above only a very small proportion is actually paid from the public treasury, the remainder being realized from jagirs or grants of land conferred by the government upon officers and soldiers, which profits must naturally fluctuate according to the seasons and also to the degree of labour and attention bestowed upon the soil. I believe that General Jung Bahadoor is desirous of changing the present arrangement, and would prefer adopting the system obtaining in European armies, of paying the troops at certain fixed rates according to rank; but the idea is repugnant to the feelings of the sirdars, and should he attempt to introduce it against their inclination, he may run some little risk of sapping his present influence and power.

Officers receive duly signed commissions from the

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Rajah, and are thereby empowered to administer justice and award fines, not to exceed one hundred rupees, amongst the peasantry residing on the jagirs assigned for their support; as the fines thus levied are a perquisite of office, this privilege is doubtless occasionally abused.

Every male throughout the territory of Nepaul is liable to be called upon to serve as a soldier for one year, at the expiration of which period he is entitled to claim his discharge, but the power thus possessed by the government of summoning recruits to its standards is, I should imagine, hardly ever exercised, for by all accounts there is no want of candidates for military service; on the contrary there are numerous applicants for employment, and at the general re-enrolment styled Punjunnie, which takes place annually during the Dusserah, when the ranks are not only weeded of weakly and inefficient officers and men, but the opportunity also taken of removing those to whom the minister in power may prove unfavourable, the greatest interest is generally made by persons of all grades to prevent being remanded to their homes; corps on out-post duty, which owing to their distance from the capital may not be subject to inspection at the Punjunnie, are usually disbanded on their return from command, new regiments being raised in their stead, and the officers and soldiers composing them proceeding to their native



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villages, where they reside until fortunate enough to re-obtain service; thus a very large proportion of the population are instructed in the use of arms, and the army could in a few months, be raised with very little difficulty to 50,000 men. The system of re-enrolment applies equally to civil and military officers. Public functionaries out of employ are styled dacreeahs, and distinguished by wearing white clothing.

Leave is generally granted to a portion of the troops between the months of March and June to enable them to assist in the cultivation of their lands; but the number to whom the indulgence is allowed does not appear to be defined, but to be entirely dependent on the will of the minister, without whose sanction no man can be absent from his duty more than a month, little authority being vested in the hands of colonels of regiments, although no officer can obtain that rank who is not a relative of the premier.

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## C.

### TREATY BETWEEN THE HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE RAJAH OFSIKHIM.

#### ARTICLE I.

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers, and makes over, in full sovereignty, to the Sikhimputee Rajah, his heirs, or successors, all the hilly or moun-

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tainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechee River, and to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepaul, ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

ARTICLE II.

The Sikhimputee Rajah engages, for himself and successors, to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas, or any other state.

ARTICLE III.

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British government any disputes or questions that may arise between his subjects, and those of Nepaul, or any other neighbouring state, and abide by the decision of the British government.

ARTICLE IV.

He engages for himself and successors to join the British troops with the whole of his military force, when employed within the hills, and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in his power.

ARTICLE V.

That he will not permit any British subjects nor the subject of any European or American state, to reside within his dominions without the permission of the English government.



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ARTICLE VI.

That he will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits, or notorious offenders, that may take refuge within his territories.

ARTICLE VII.

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue, or other delinquents, when demanded by the British government through their accredited agents.

ARTICLE VIII.

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's provinces; and he engages that no duties shall be levied on the transit of merchandize beyond the established custom at the several golahs and marts.

ARTICLE IX.

The Honourable East India Company guarantees to the Sikhimputee Rajah and his successors, the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hilly country specified in the first Article of the present agreement.

## D.

### NEPAULESE ZOOLOGY.

MAMMALIA.

The Jharal, wild goat. *Capra jharal,* mihi, mature male. Inhabits the Kachar.

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The Nahoor, wild sheep. *Ovis Nahoor*, mihi. Habitat, Kachar.

The Thar antelope. *Antelope Thar*, mihi mature male. *A. Ghoral*, Hardwicke. Mature male. Inhabit central and northern divisions of Nepaul respectively.

The Changra or shawl goat of the Himalaya towards Nepaul. Inhabits the Kachar.

The Chiru antelope. *Antelope Hodgesonii*, C. Abel. Mature male. *A. Gazella* of H. Smith's sub-genius. Habitat, the open plains of N. E. Thibet.

The Ratwa Mantjac. Inhabits the central region of Nepaul.

The Nepaulese Paradoxurus. *P. Nipalesis*, mihi. Inhabits the central and northern regions of Nepaul.

The Wah. *Ailurus Fulgens*. Kachar only.

The Kathiah Nyool of Nepaul. *Martes Kathiah*, mihi. Central and northern regions.

The Bharsiah of the Nepaulese. *Ursitaxus Inauritus*, mihi. Pennant's Indian badger?

The Koriāl of the Nepaulese. *Sciuropterus magnificus*. Central and lower regions of Nepaul.

The Machabba, or Malva of the Taraï. *Paradoxurus Bondar*. Inhabits the open tracts of the lower region of Nepaul.

Thulo Chuah of the Nepaulese. Norway, Rat? All parts of Nepaul.

The Nyool of the Taraï. *Mangastra Cafra?* 2, the Nyool of the hills. *M. Javanica?* (since ascertained

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to be a new species of *M. auropunctata,* mihi. Gold-tipped Mongoose). Central region of Nepaul.

*Viverra Indica.* The Sayer of the Taraï; 2, *Viverra Rasse,* also called Sayer. Both inhabit the Taraï portion of the lower region of Nepaul exclusively.

The Chittra Bilow of the Taraï; *Felis Serval?* varietas. *Felis Viverrinus* of Hardwicke? Open parts of lower region of Nepaul only.

The Biraloo of the Nepaulese. *Felis Lynchus Erythrotus.* Central region and lower. The Moormi Cat, *F. Murmensis.* Central region only.

The Arna, *Bos Arna,* mas. The Taraï and Bhaver.

*Gulo Orientalis.* Lower hills of Nepaul.

The Phusro Jaraï of the Nepaulese. *Cervus Aristotelis* of Smith.

The Lokriah Squirrel, *S. Lokriah,* mihi.

The common Musk Shrew of Nepaul. *Sorex Indicus?* 2, common Field-mouse of Nepaul; 3, Sano Chuah, or lesser common rat of Nepaul. *M. Ratus.* Black rat?

The Nepaulese Cat. *Felis Nipalensis.*

Black and white Flying Squirrel. *Sciuropterus* Alboniger, mihi. Central and northern regions.

Ghoral Antelope.

The Buansu, or wild dog of the Nepaulese. *Canis primævus.*

The Bara Sinha, or Indian type of the true Stag. Inhabits the Bhaver and saul forest of Nepaul.

The Phusro Jaraï of the Nepaulese. *C. Aristotelis* of

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Smith. *Hipehaphus* of Du Vaucel. The Bahraiya, *Cervus Bahraiya.* (The Maha of the western portion of these hills). The animals inhabit the saul forest and Bhaver of Nepaul.

The Machabba, or Malva of the Taraï. *Paradoxurus Bondar ?*

Pteropus of central region. *Pt. Leucocephalus.*

The Langoor Monkey. Inhabits the central region.

The Chikara or Chouka. *A. Tetracornis.* Habitat. Taraï.

The Snakes of central region. All of them are innocuous.

Young Porcupine.

Tibetan Mastiff.

Common Hare of central region. Locusts, same region.

Common Otter of Taraï.

Common Toad, common Frog. Central region.

Panther, Leopard, and Bear.

Cabool Greyhound.

*Rhinoceros unicornis* of the Taraï.

The Khar Laghuna, or brown Porcine Axis.

The Yak of Thibet.

Zibet of central region of Nepaul.

Indian Dûmba Sheep.

The Barwal or domestic sheep of the Kachar of Nepaul. The Hoaniah or domestic sheep of Thibet and of the Himalaya.

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The Wool-bearing Paradoxurus, *Paradoxurus, Lanigera*. Habitat, the northern region of Nepaul.

The short-tailed Manis of the central region of Nepaul.

Chittra or Axis. Jhou Laghuna or Spotted Porcine Axis. The Taraï of Nepaul.

Ovis Nahoor. *Antelope Hodgsonii*. Cervi Capra.

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as the general history of her times, and its effects on her character, and we have done so with singleness of heart, unbiassed by selfish interests or narrow views. Such as they were in life we have endeavoured to portray them, both in good and ill, without regard to any other considerations than the development of the *facts*. Their sayings, their doings, their manners, their costume, will be found faithfully chronicled in this work, which also includes the most interesting of their letters. The hope that the 'Lives of the Queens of England' might be regarded as a national work, honourable to the female character, and generally useful to society, has encouraged us to the completion of the task."

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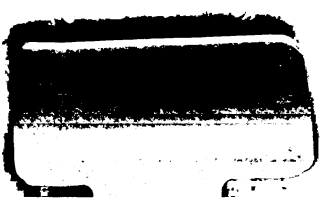

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